MIDDLE CLASS KINSHIP NETWORKS IN BELO HORIZONTE, MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL: THE FUNCTIONS OF THE URBAN PARENTELA

By

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

CEDMG	Conselo Estadual do Desenvolvimento de Minas Gerais
GTBH	Guia Telefónica de Belo Horizonte (See Belo Horizonte)
IBGE	Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Council
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This study examines the impact of urbanization and industrialization on middle class family and kinship patterns in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Brazil. It calls into doubt the universality of Parson's and Goode's findings that urbanization and industrialization tend to have an isolating effect on the family and cause extended kinship ties to atrophy. The methodology used to collect the data on middle class family life in this metropolis include participant-observation, genealogical elicitation, informal interviewing and life history collection from a number of personal kinship networks of extended kin. These data are supplemented by questionnaire survey information, administered to a population of middle class students in secondary schools. The units selected for study are personal kinship networks, rather than territorially bounded units such as communities and neighborhoods, in the belief

that urban residents are less bounded in their behavior by territorial units than are residents of other types of settlements. The study discusses the concepts of family, _família_, _parentela_ and residential unit as a part of the analysis of urban kinship behavior. The study finds that residential units are often made up of three generations and that a high degree of interaction for the purposes of mutual aid is maintained with a group of kin beyond a couple and their minor children, including the parents of both husband and wife, and the siblings (and their spouses) of both husband and wife. In addition, the study finds that a larger group of extended kin (or parentela) serves as the action set of the network for less frequent interaction, fulfilling recreational needs, information-sharing needs and bureaucratic facilitation needs. The study, therefore, contends that the maintenance or evolution of extended kinship ties is one means of adaptation in urban, stratified societies, such as Brazil. It suggests that such an adaptation may be more strongly developed in those social strata which have property, education and access to power and other resources, such as the middle class of Belo Horizonte, rather than lower classes.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The primary goals of the early anthropologists in the United States were to study and preserve the records of North American Indians. In attempting to preserve what they perceived as the dying remnants of the world's primitive cultures, they expanded into foreign studies of simple societies and rural communities, avoiding the complexities of urban settings. The orientation of anthropologists has continued to change from that of cataloging exotic, primitive and foreign cultures to that of understanding change as ongoing adaptation, not as the destructive march of monolithic industrial homogeneity. As a result, anthropologists have turned to the study of particular segments of societies in urban settings in order to offer qualitative evidence of the nature of the urban life styles which are becoming more significant as the world becomes more urbanized. The first urban studies done by anthropologists focused on the urban poor who are a numerous and therefore important class in many industrializing and urbanizing societies. These anthropologists transferred the "community" as a unit of study from their primitive and rural studies into these new urban settings and often interpreted the behavior of rural-urban migrants as transplanted rural culture, temporarily surviving in the urban environment, but destined to succumb to urban pressures

as time went on (Matos Mar 1961; Pearse 1961; Bonilla 1970; Lewis 1952). The holistic study of these migrant communities led these anthropologists to remark on how tenacious were the bonds of kinship in urban settings. Thus, the first studies of urban kinship patterns by anthropologists were parts of multifaceted community studies of rural-urban migrants. Some studies have acknowledged the adaptive capacity of rural-urban migrants, but nevertheless have been limited to the study of poor rural-urban migrants (Mangin 1970; Leeds 1967; Safa 1974).

Urban anthropologists have not found it difficult to study the family patterns of the urban poor. Since poor families are relatively powerless and find themselves in societies which do not provide them opportunities to better themselves, the researchers' interest in them and the payments sometimes made offer significant psychological and economic motivation to members of this group to participate in projects which impinge on their privacy and offer little hope for any significant change in their conditions. Liebow has pointed out another criticism of studies of the poor: an over-emphasis on women and children which results from their accessibility and dependency on governmental bureaucracies (1967:6-8). This criticism holds true for studies of the urban poor in the United States where bureaucracies are relatively well developed.

On the other hand, anthropological studies of middle and upper class urban kinship groups are in short supply and

are badly needed, despite the fact that these classes are less susceptible to the inducements of researchers to participate in such studies. In Latin America and other parts of the Third World, the analysis of urban problems and conditions requires more information on these strata, precisely because of the asymmetrical distribution of power in these societies and the disproportionate influence these small classes have on the rest of the society (Willems 1968:75). Whiteford pointed out the need to study cities which had emerging middle classes to better understand the effects of industrialization on social structure (1964:254-255). Furthermore, kinship institutions in Latin America, especially among these classes, have traditionally been strikingly important and enduring despite social changes in other areas. It is useful, to be sure, to look at the "culture of poverty" or the "culture of affluence" in order to record and interpret the kinship and family behavior of different classes from their own internal perspective, but, as Leeds points out, it is also useful to the understanding of urban phenomena to look at how these class cultures interact and influence one another and are influenced by the urban setting and social and economic structures in society (Leeds 1968:31). This study, then, is an attempt to view Brazilian middle class family patterns from the point of view of middle class Brazilians, while not neglecting the impact of their behavior and attitudes on the other strata in Brazilian society.

Units of Study

In addition to the over-emphasis on the urban poor, studied in isolation, another issue of concern arising from the literature on urban anthropology has been the choice of a unit for study. Urban anthropologists have struggled with attempts to define their units of study, to avoid losing the essentially anthropological, humanistic, informant-centered approach of the participant-observer method. The traditional concepts of neighborhood or any other territorially defined unit become less relevant in the urban setting. Even the concept of social structure as a relatively fixed set of relationships between behavior and social institutions has lost much heuristic value when used in the analysis of large urban or metropolitan living patterns. Urban and metropolitan residents often follow patterns of interaction and communication with many possibly unrelated persons, in various places, in groups or singly, frequently outside of the urbanites place of residence. Even the study of kinship and family, which in many societies is the residential unit, needs to take into account this daily geographic mobility and ease of communications.

One of the more fruitful approaches now being used to overcome the biases of territorially bounded units and fixed concepts of social structure has been the study of personal networks. This analytical scheme focuses on the relevant ties between people which allows for the mobilization of individuals for specific purposes under specific conditions

(Whitten and Wolfe 1974:720). All networks are centered on a particular individual as reference point. A personal network, therefore, is the chain of persons (Alters) with whom any given referent individual (Ego) has actual or potential direct interaction as well as lateral links between these people, especially when they are acting with respect to Ego's problems and concerns. A personal kinship network, then, is all of Ego's recognized or potentially recognized kin, consanguineal, affinal or fictive (Hubbell 1973:2). By recognition, I mean that Ego has taken some positive step showing that he or she has a special relationship to the Alter in question. By potential recognition, I mean that Ego knows about the person and conceives of that person as one with whom it would be possible to interact given the desire, motivation and common interest. Ego must have enough information about the Alter to find him or her and initiate interaction. To clarify further, the relationship between Ego and his or her personal network contrasts with the relationship of an individual and his or her reference group in that the network's existence is defined by Ego's use or potential use of it (Hyman and Singer 1968).

A personal network is bounded, therefore, not by community of interests, like a reference group, nor by territoriality like a neighborhood or community, nor by structural interdependence like an institution, but by known patterns of interaction of a given set of Alters with a given Ego (Mayer 1966:100). The explicit bias of this view is that

individuals are not necessarily locked into the statuses and roles assigned to them by a particular formal structure but are in the process of active adaptation to the changing interaction context in which they find themselves.

The congruence between the formal social structure and the informal personal networks in many simple societies was discovered by anthropologists studying genealogical reckoning and other features of kinship in those societies. The tracing of genealogical charts led anthropologists to the recognition that in many of these societies a knowledge of the formal kinship system would be a good guide to interaction patterns. Thus, anthropological kinship studies became associated with the definition and delineation of self-perpetuating descent groups, especially "corporate" ones (see Radcliffe-Brown 1950:41). The lack of congruence between the individuals' interaction patterns with kin and relatively fixed concepts of kinship and social structure in modern complex societies has been a major source of doubts which have been expressed as to the usefulness of traditional modes of kinship analysis in such societies. Indeed, as Talcott Parsons points out, the relatively static concept of kin groups as "firmly structured units of the social system" does not give much insight into family life in complex societies (1971:120). However, it is just as unproductive to state that the equally static concept of the isolated nuclear family made up of husband, wife, and their children gives much more insight into such behavior in light of the research of Litwak, Bott and others

which demonstrates the continuity of extended kin ties in complex societies (Litwak 1960; Bott 1957). As a result of the weakness of these fixed concepts of social structure, anthropologists are increasingly turning to the personal kinship network approach to aid in the study of family and kin ties in complex societies, especially in those societies where kin, among certain social strata, constitute the majority of Alters in the total personal network of individuals.

Theoretical Orientation

In industrial societies, changes in the function, continuity, longevity, status and role of kinship groups have been mistaken by observers for the demise of significant kinship ties outside of the nuclear family. At the same time, solidarity of kinship groups has been reported to be a powerful and widespread phenomenon in many parts of the industrializing world. As a result, the relationships among the forces which have been labeled modernization, industrialization and urbanization and the forms and nature of the family have become confused. The classical socio-cultural theories of Maine, Durkheim, Toënnies, LePlay, Linton and Lowie which dictated the dependence of family form on dichotomy models of rural vs. urban, folk vs. national, traditional vs. modern, ascriptive vs. achieving societies do not adequately describe the adaptation of extended kinship groups to urban, industrial functions.

Many studies of modern, industrial, urban societies

have predicted the continual ebbing away of the functions of extended kinship ties. Some have lamented this trend and others have cheered it as progress. As indicated above, it has been the subject of much debate as to whether these "trends" have been verified empirically. Nevertheless, the study of the family and kinship in complex societies is important for understanding the common denominators of human interaction. Kinship interaction in its various forms is a human universal. The socialization of infants and young children is under the control of parents and other closely related kin in almost all societies, simple or complex. Because the family is one of the few groups with ascribed membership recruitment, most men and women depend on kin for a buffer of moral, economic and emotional support in societies which are becoming characterized by more social mobility and growing achievement orientation. The specialization of functions and diversity of occupational choice associated with Western capitalism and the rise of modern industrial cities have led to the proliferation of impersonal bureaucracies, agencies, associations and institutions. There have been as yet none of these public or private agencies, associations or institutions in any complex society which have been successful in supplanting family and kinship interaction with humane, personalized and sensitive treatment. Family and kin interaction provides one of the few counterbalances to the alienation created by instrumental, impersonal bureaucracies in modern, industrial, urban societies.

This study reexamines the literature on the interdependence of family form and function with the type of society in which it is found: agrarian-traditional vs. urban-industrial. In addition, it offers a case study of Brazilian urban middle class family behavior as evidence in the analysis of this interdependence. This study contends that much of the apparent evidence for the demise of some family functions in industrial society results from the failure of some social analysts to recognize adaptive changes in family functions. Family and kinship relations respond to pressure to convert formal into informal systems of obtaining personalized help in societies where the coercive sanctions against nonconformity are great and the formal structures have developed a high degree of complexity.

In urban Brazil, these formal structures are less numerous and have been less effective in competing with kin interaction for functions which are already performed by voluntary associations and governmental agencies in the United States and Western Europe. Some have argued that the cause of this difference is urbanization prior to industrialization: the preindustrial nature of the city in developing societies (Goode 1963, 1974). In the past, Brazil has been identified as a largely traditional, agrarian, pre-industrial society with a relatively stable two-class system of "haves" and "have-nots." However, recent observers have come to the conclusion that Brazil is today in the process of becoming a modern, industrial,

urban society, with the accompanying growth of an important middle sector (Rios 1964:39). Indeed, the major cities already show the increased complexity and diversity brought about by increases in real income, growing ease of communications and transportation, specialization of labor (with large growth in industrial, white collar, bureaucratic and commercial sectors) and social secularization. However, the bureaucracies, agencies, institutions and associations in urban Brazil have not developed along with this industrialization, and they tend to play a more limited role in influencing and controlling individual attitudes and behavior than the kinship networks. In fact, familial networks, as this study demonstrates, are taking on new urban functions among the members of middle and upper classes.

This study investigates several kinship groups in Belo Horizonte, the third largest city in Brazil, an industrializing, administrative metropolis. It provides data concerning the adaptation of such groups to the urban setting by becoming self-recognizing, functional mutual aid associations. The theoretical orientation of this study asserts that responses to social change are as diverse and heterogeneous as the cultures which are the objects of that change, but they parallel one another in terms of the similarity of the ecological and economic pressures brought to bear upon those cultures. The premise of this study is that social evolution does not follow a unilineal progression, but it is apt to

take a wide variety of forms. These forms will not always fit the western stereotypes of modernity, but rather they will always be an efficient adaptation to situational exigencies.

The study of the urban middle class kinship system in Brazil is well served by the personal network concept because of the particular linguistic and cultural characteristics of that system as well as the appropriateness of this approach to urban contexts generally. In Brazilian Portuguese, the word for family, <u>família</u>, is ambiguous, usually referring to a person's own sibling group, the childhood orienting family, especially in contrast with that of the spouse, the whole extended family, some part of the extended family, or a woman's husband and children.* Males never referred to wives and children as their família preferring to call them "woman and children." Most Brazilians reserve the use of the term família for the larger kindred, although the ambiguity remains. The most common way of referring to the household unit was "those at home" or <u>pessoal em casa</u> or "we, there at home," <u>nos, lá em casa</u>. A specific term, <u>parentela</u>, refers to all the relatives, clarifying the term família further. However, parentela is a relatively little used term in Minas Gerais, and has been adopted by social scientists as a term for the concept "kindred" (Wagley 1971:168). I use this term much as the Brazilians use it: for an Ego-focused set of living kin which may, but does not always, include affinal and fictive

*See below, page 44, for a more thorough discussion of the concept of família.

kin as well as consanguineal kin. It does not include any consanguineal kin who might exist, but only those who are known, who have established a relationship with Ego or who have had an active relationship established for them. In other words, the parentela is a network of people with whom Ego has actual or potential interaction.

From this analysis, it is clear that Brazilian Portuguese has within it categories which distinguish the very phenomenon which this study argues is of central importance to the understanding and explanation of the nature of the urban family and kinship system in modern, industrial societies: the kinship network. This study argues that the predicted continual ebbing away of the functions of extended kinship ties is partly the result of static and overly formal analytical procedures which are not suited to the nature of modern complex social phenomena.

Review of Literature

Although most social scientists agree that structures inherent in the urban division of labor are destructive of the traditional functions of kin networks, increasing evidence is accumulating which indicates that in many modern urban situations, kinship still plays an important role in structuring social interactions. Elizabeth Bott in her seminal work, Family and Social Network (1957), found that the degree of "connectedness" in urban families varied with differences in the degree of "segregation of conjugal roles." She suggested that persons who at the time of marriage had

close-knit networks with kin tended to continue them during marriage, not necessarily looking to the spouse for all emotional, social and economic needs (1957:216-219). Young and Willmott (1957) discovered extensive kinship networks in East London, despite marked and long-term urbanization there. Similarly, Garigue (1956) studied urban French Canadians and found a high degree of kin interaction among them. Sussman and Burchinal (1962) have asserted that the independent nuclear family is a normative concept of American culture which tends to obscure an understanding of the extended family as a functioning social system. Stack has discovered highly developed kin interdependence among urban American blacks (1974). Lévi-Strauss (1969) has questioned the nuclear family's traditional position as the elementary unit of kinship and has insisted that relations among affines are extremely important in the structure of every society, complex and primitive. It is evident from this rapid and superficial review of the literature that the limitations of the concept of the nuclear family have become apparent. However, it is also evident that studies of kinship functions in complex societies are rare.

American scholars have looked in vain for the transformation of extended, traditional family structure into the nuclear family as a sign of modernization in Latin America. According to Lauterbach (1965), extended family links continue to be extremely important in Latin American entrepreneurial groups. He reports that managers of business

firms are often selected based on family ties rather than specialized training, since family members are considered to be reliable, dependable and loyal. Some writers see this form of "nepotism" as a backward characteristic of "underdeveloped" societies possessing elite-dominated two-class systems.

Much of the literature on Latin America has been limited to a discussion of the composition of the domestic group, marital patterns and the functions of the domestic units, data largely available from census materials. Although Smith states that the kinship group is the most important institution of Brazilian society, he devotes only a few short paragraphs to the function of such groups (1963:479-481).

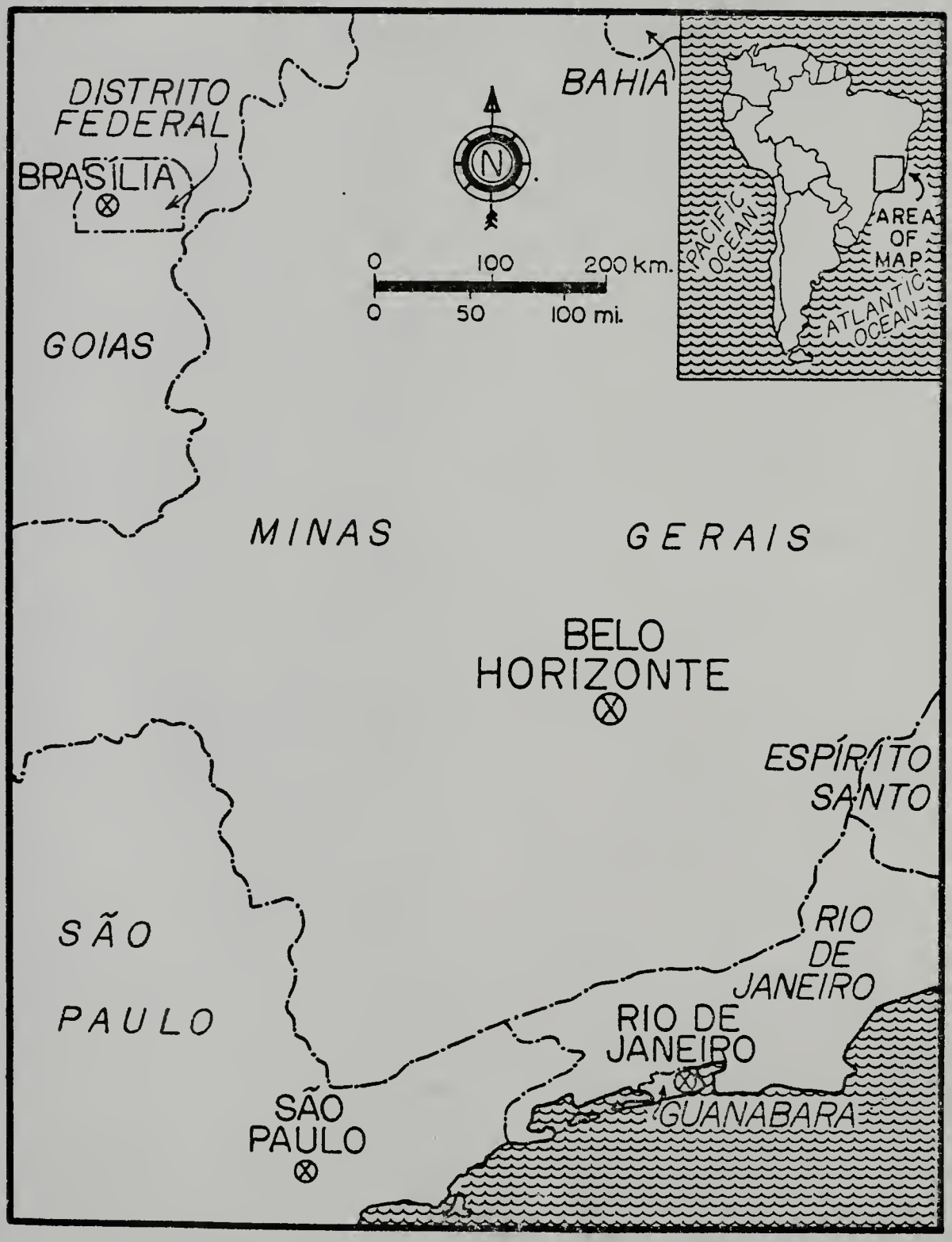
There is no doubt that the family has been the dominant institution in Brazil (Freyre 1956). Economists are at a loss to explain why the growth of large industries and corporate ownership in major metropolitan centers like São Paulo have not lessened the importance of family ties in corporate decision-making. Bresser Pereira (1962) reports that few outsiders are brought into Brazilian family corporations, even to introduce technical skills. Emilio Willems (1953) points out that such an institution as the stock market has failed to function like its American counterpart because the most important joint stock companies are owned by kin groups which handle transfers as a purely domestic matter. Berlinck (1969) contends that São Paulo is not really a "modern industrial city" but is rather a

"metropolitan-transitional city" having traditional structural elements behind a modern facade. He feels that this accounts for the persistence of close family networks. Since the behavior of factory owners and urban proletariat closely parallel that of plantation owners and rural proletariat, he contends that the rural structure has been taken over, largely intact, into the urban setting. In support of this contention, he points out that frequently the same families which own factories today used to own or still own large rural holdings. In essence, he explains persistence as cultural lag which will eventually be changed by new forces not yet powerful enough to irradicate traditional structures. Leeds, on the other hand, has suggested (1967) that rural-urban migrants do not merely import exclusively rural traits into the cities, forming rural enclaves in squatter settlements. He sees the urban behavior patterns of migrants as new adaptations to new surroundings, with parallels arising where conditions are somewhat similar to rural environments. Azevedo has compared marriage and divorce patterns across social classes contrasting rural and urban settings, but has gone little beyond census statistics and broad nationwide generalizations (1962). Pearse has noticed that migration patterns of Rio de Janeiro's favelados (residents of semi-permanent urban squatter settlements) generally depend on kin links on both ends of the migratory chain who provide temporary lodging, financial assistance and employment contacts for

the new arrival. The study of kinship functions among rural-urban migrants and the urban poor has already received much greater attention than that of urban upper and middle classes. Wagley (1964) has reported that the persistence of the parentela in the urban upper class of Brazil is of such an extent that whole families occupy and own all of the units in new condominiums. Other indicators of the importance and intimacy of such groups are the frequent reports of regular meetings among members of such groups, but the literature indicates little systematic research to obtain data on how these kinship networks function. Wagley's study, for example, is based on the work of other field researchers taken from their community studies and in addition contains insights from his own field experiences in Brazil. Recent studies (Hansen, Schneider, and Schneider 1972, and Hansen and Hansen 1973) have dealt with the Brazilian middle class and elites in São Paulo, but have emphasized stratificational criteria, modernization and mobility rather than kinship, although the kinship route to bureaucratic facilitation is specifically mentioned and supported with data in Hansen and Hansen.

From this review of the literature, it is clear that there is much to be studied and reported on the nature and function of middle class urban kinship networks in Brazil, both for the purpose of understanding middle class Brazilian culture more fully and in getting a broader perspective on the nature of the impact of modernization, urbanization and

industrialization on kinship patterns. Furthermore, this study demonstrates the utility of network analysis in urban anthropology and expands our understanding of urban contexts as arenas for anthropological research.



Map of Study Area

CHAPTER II

DOING FIELD WORK IN BELO HORIZONTE

The previous chapter has described the theoretical perspective and overall approach of this study: the analysis of the roles and functions of kinship groups in urban Brazil through the network concept. This chapter will describe and defend the methods used to collect the data as well as the particular urban setting in which the study was undertaken.

The data to be reported and analyzed were collected during thirteen months of field research in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Brazil (see Figure 1). During my research in Belo Horizonte, I studied six large kinship networks or parentelas for which the focal Egos were selected from the middle and upper middle classes. I chose six Egos who were not relatives, three women and three men, and developed kinship networks for them through participant observation, informal interviewing and the collection of life histories and genealogies. Because of the openness of the methodology of participant observation, I studied not only those six individuals, but also many other members of their parentelas through direct meetings as well as by reputation.

The data in this study were collected by multiple methods: (1) genealogical elicitation, (2) informal interviewing, (3) participant observation, (4) life history collection and (5) questionnaire interviewing. The six Egos for the

parentela studies were selected from professional classes because these occupations are reported by other scholars studying Brazil to be a very characteristic category within the Brazilian middle sector (Wagley 1971:112). Furthermore, professionals are occupationally characteristic of urban heterogeneity not only in Brazil but also in Western industrial societies. This study is not an attempt, however, to describe any middle class Brazilians other than those with whom I was in direct, immediate association. The applicability of this descriptive and interpretive material to middle class Brazilians in general is only suggestive here, and further study is, of course, necessary. I do not intend to suggest, though, that the data presented and analyzed here relate to unique and distinctive relationships, conditions and persons. I made an effort to select informants, at least initially, who were representative of a certain occupational class, but such a sample could not be presumed to be representative, especially since the selection process was partly influenced by accidental circumstances and partly by the fact that I was a foreigner in Brazil. I was concerned enough about the representativeness of my information that I decided to conduct a sample survey of a larger group of middle class Brazilians, residents of Belo Horizonte. I constructed a questionnaire, after living in Brazil for six months, which I then administered to nearly four hundred colégio (high school) students covering indicators of social class and attitudes and behavior relating to kinship inter-

action. However, the purpose of this survey was only to check the responses of the in-depth parentela studies and is not intended in itself to be an adequate way to find out about Brazilian kinship patterns.

I have assumed that the informants had little reason to falsify or withhold information from me. All of the informants were told that the information gathered was to be used for a study of the "traditional mineiro family" (a família tradicional mineira), a phrase which is common in the state of Minas Gerais, sometimes shortened to the initials "F.T.M." Most were flattered to be included in the study and enjoyed talking about their families with me, although some felt that it was trivial to the "real concerns of life." The in-depth studies were limited to people twenty-four and over, while the high school students ranged in age between fifteen and nineteen, although a few older students were enrolled in evening classes. The difference in age seems to account for some of the differences in attitudes in responses. In terms of behavior questions, I found many parallels between the two groups.

Methods

1. Genealogical Elicitation. The first method employed after the selection of the principal informants for the in-depth studies was Conklin's genealogical method (1969), coupled with a componential analysis of kinship terms (Goodenough 1970), in order to determine the native categories of relationship and to understand the distinctive features of

kinship discriminations. The genealogies were then used to elicit information from the informants concerning the actual interactions among the members of the extended family or parentela to determine the economic, social and political functions of the network, such as child-care, shopping, labor exchange, professional advice or care, monetary and material gifts, loans of money or equipment, political affiliation and factors, procurement of employment, facilitation of bureaucratic processes, visits, attendance at parties or other ritual events, service as godparents, exchange of letters and telephone calls, the use of telephones and automobiles, joint economic ventures and cooperative housing arrangements. I asked such questions as "When was the last time you saw (the person's name)?" (Quando foi a ultima vez que você (o senhor) viu _____?) I used the formal second person pronoun, o sehnor, a senhora, with informants in their forties, fifties and sixties which they seemed to find flattering and which allowed me to enter into the child role to their parent role. The result of this adoption of roles was that my older informants became my tutors, in a somewhat condescending fashion, and never exhibited any feeling that I was threatening to them or seemed to try to hide anything from me. I attempted to ask questions which were simple and almost naive to encourage my informants to teach me what I needed to know. The relationship I established with the younger informants was somewhat different. In these cases, I tried to act the role of younger sister and confidant,

asking about the members of the parentela with genuine but not scholarly interest. Often the conversations took on a gossipy tone. I did experience some problems switching from role to role. On occasion, for instance, I would try a question on an older informant which would sound presumptuous from a child and I would get raised eyebrows or uncomfortable body movements with evasive answers.

2. Informal interviewing. Essentially the genealogical method, as described above, involved intensive informal interviewing. I also interviewed persons for whom I did not collect genealogies, especially members of the parentelas which I was studying in-depth. In these cases, I tried to start a conversation by talking about the events and people at hand, without, of course, revealing that I had been told many things about the members of the kinship group. I usually tried to verify what I had been told through casual conversations. Sometimes this strategy worked, although often it was difficult to get beyond small talk. I attempted to keep all conversations friendly by agreeing with my informants and by avoiding the interjection of obviously biased statements of my own, allowing the respondent latitude in determining the conversational topic.

3. Participant-Observation. Of course, the more I learned about the expectations of the people with whom I was dealing the more I became accepted as a participant in events and daily life. I lived with my husband and stepson in an apartment where we continued some American behavior

patterns but we also adopted many Brazilian patterns. However, my participant-observation was a very mobile style of life. My six Egos lived and worked in various parts of the city and I drove from one area to another on a daily basis. One of my informants lived in the same building I did, but all of the others lived in different neighborhoods (bairros). I tried to record public events which were part of the lives of the parentela members as well as becoming intimately involved with the familial networks. I attended school functions, family birthday parties, weddings, receptions, funerals, wakes, first communions, christenings, inaugurations of public buildings, cocktail parties and dinners in homes and restaurants. I visited my informants in their homes and at work, at their relatives' homes and at their social clubs. I went with them on visits to relatives living in the country. I accompanied them to the beauty parlor, on shopping trips, and to the movies. I invited them to my home for visits. They gave me a lot of advice on how to live a good life and how to improve my speech. They helped me in many ways to discover how to cope with what was at first a frustrating and confusing pattern of urban life. I found that I needed these parentelas in order to adapt to life in Belo Horizonte.

4. Life History Method. Denzin, among others, has suggested the use of the life history method for eliciting and examining the experiences and definitions of an individual or group and for analyzing social roles (1970).

Redfield also advocated this type of tool for the analysis of social change, especially by the comparison of differences in generations (1960). In my study, I found the use of the life history method helpful in these ways, especially in giving a diachronic perspective on the information gathered first hand. The six Egos of the parentelas were asked, toward the end of my field work, after considerable rapport had been established, to give their own versions of the story of their lives. This was done in June and July of 1973 after months of informal interviewing, genealogical elicitation and participant-observation. The life histories were taped with no one present besides the researcher and the informant. The life histories were elicited by the question, "Tell me the story of your life, however you would like to, emphasizing whatever you think is important." Some were shy and kept stopping and saying "Should I say more?" I would encourage them to continue by asking a leading question such as "Have you found your life fulfilling?" I tried to avoid specific content-oriented questions because I wanted to do a content analysis of what they chose to bring up.

5. Questionnaires. A sixty-item questionnaire was designed to cross check informants' answers concerning certain information with a larger sample of the urban middle class. The questionnaire covered information concerning marital status, residence, age, sex, religion, naming pattern, automobile ownership, telephone ownership, father's occupation, source of tuition payment, self identification

of social class, monthly family income and many items about familial behavior patterns and attitudes. The questionnaire was administered in several types of high schools: an inexpensive evening school (commercial course), a moderately priced Baptist school, a moderately priced Catholic school, two free but competitive municipal schools and a free but highly competitive state school, a total of three private and three public schools, listed from the least to the most prestigious. I attempted to get a variety of types of schools in different parts of the city in order to keep from biasing the sample through competitive, price and ecological factors. Since educational achievement is one of the striking characteristics of differentiating the middle class, the fact that colégio students were used as questionnaire respondents is a good indicator that they were members of the middle class. The sample showed the majority of the group to be middle class, not surprising since the Brazilian school system makes it difficult for children of lower classes to reach high school.

The methods used in this study were weighted based on several strategies. The kind of qualitative data needed to answer the questions posed in the first chapter were not accessible through quantifiable methods, but the conclusions of the study would be less reliable unless some attempt was made to put the findings into a broader perspective. Thus, this is the compromise which was reached.

The Setting

The location for this study is Belo Horizonte (see Figure 1 above), the third largest city in Brazil and capital of the state of Minas Gerais, the second most populous state in the country with 11,645,095 inhabitants (IBGE 1971:13-14). Minas Gerais is a part of the region called the Eastern Highlands, characterized by hilly uplands (Wagley 1971:47).

Up to the middle of this century, Brazil and the Eastern Highlands could be described as having a predominantly rural population (Smith 1972:9-10), but in the past decade, the proportion of residents living in towns and cities has passed the 50% mark (Smith 1972:682). The topographic and geological features of the region historically impeded dense settlement of the Eastern Highlands due to difficulties in navigating the narrow rivers and in constructing roads through the irregular terrain, compounded by colonial government edicts prohibiting access and development of any transportation routes to prevent the illegal extraction of gold and other valuable minerals (Poppino 1968:100-101).

Today, however, these features have played an important part in the economic development of the Eastern Highlands and Minas Gerais particularly, and now, Minas Gerais reflects the demographic transformation from rural to urban settlement pattern which is characteristic of all of Brazil. In 1970, 34% of the state's population was living in towns and cities over 10,000 population. By contrast, in 1950, only 13% of

the state's population was living in cities and towns of that size. What is interesting for the purposes of this study is that, in 1970, 11% of the state's population lived in Belo Horizonte, compared with 5% in 1950.

TABLE I

Urban Population Growth, Minas Gerais, 1950-1970

	1950		1970	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total population of Minas Gerais	*7,782,188	100	*11,645,095	100
Population living in cities over 10,000	*985,593	13	*3,906,671	34
Population in Belo Horizonte	**352,724	5	**1,232,708	11

*IBGE 1971:65, 66
**Smith 1972:595, 686

The topographic and geological features which impeded denser settlement in colonial times have encouraged the growth of Belo Horizonte into a major industrial metropolis. For example, the highlands of Minas Gerais constitute an important water shed for many other parts of Brazil. The headwaters of the Rio Grande and the Paranaíba (major tributaries of the Paraná), the São Francisco, the Rio Doce and the Jequitinhonha are all found in Minas Gerais. This rich drainage network has allowed for the impressive hydroelectric establishments in the state and represents much potential for electric power development (IBGE 1971:13). Minas Gerais

has the second largest network of hydroelectric power installations in Brazil (IBGE 1971:13). In addition to the hydraulic resources of the state, the geological resources are also very important to the development of the industrializing urban culture of Belo Horizonte. There are major deposits of iron ore, bauxite, manganese ore and limestone, among others (CEDMG 1973:29, 36, 45). As a result, Minas Gerais is the state with the largest steel and cement production in Brazil and is developing important industries related to the production of other minerals and metals. Most of this industrial activity has centered in the region near Belo Horizonte and has resulted in a tremendous population boom for the city and a growth of its influence over a widening hinterland.

The relatively rapid metropolitanization of Belo Horizonte has its counterparts in other regions of Brazil (Smith 1972:690-692). Up until the 1950's, only two metropolises of any national significance existed in Brazil, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. In both cases, however, metropolitanization occurred over a longer time period. At present, Brazil is in the process of extending its metropolitan network over much of the traditionally settled portion of the country and with the creation of the new federal capital of Brasília in the interior, the web of urban relations now covers a larger territory than would have occurred through "natural" urban development.

Actually, Belo Horizonte represents a model of the

Brazilian penchant for creating capital cities. The seat of the state government of Minas Gerais until the last decade of the nineteenth century was Ouro Preto, the colonial mining center, which was unsuited to further growth because it is hemmed in by rugged mountains. By administrative act, the new state capital of Belo Horizonte was constructed on a site more propitious to future expansion. It was conceived solely in terms of its functions as an administrative center and was designed for a population of 250,000 residents.

The subsequent growth of Belo Horizonte to metropolitan status, occurring in a little more than seventy years, could hardly have been forecast from the early censuses: 1900- 13,472; 1920 - 55,563. But by 1950, the population had already passed the planned size by more than 100,000 inhabitants (352,724). Since then, Belo Horizonte's population growth has been of a geometric order: 1960 - 693,328; 1970 - 1,232,708 (Smith 1972:686). The last preliminary census, in 1973, showed population of close to a million and a half.

This population explosion expressed in the number of people resident in the city has not only radically altered the demographics of Belo Horizonte, but in less than a generation, has transformed the ecological and social structure of this one time interior provincial capital. The ecological pattern of the city, until recently, had conformed to the traditional Latin American model with the dominant

central plaza containing the administrative offices of the state government. Neither the increased commercial and financial functions that the capital performed for a growing hinterland during the first third or this century nor the incipient industrialization begun during the Second World War appreciably altered the physical structure of the city.

Since the World War II period, however, and continuing at an accelerating pace, both Federal and State development programs (notably in transportation, communications and industrial expansion), resulting in large scale migration from the surrounding rural zones, is transforming the ecological pattern into one more similar to the urban and metropolitan characteristics of cities and metropolises in urban industrial societies in Europe and North America.

Together with demographic and ecological structural changes, increased heterogeneity in the composition of the population and a more differentiated class and occupational structure has modified the traditional two class structure. A large percentage of the metropolitan population consists of poor rural migrants many of whom occupy the favelas surrounding the central city. Most of these families provide the unskilled and semi-skilled low-wage workers for building construction, small industries, odd jobs, and household domestic employment.

The physical aspect of Belo Horizonte is not strikingly different from other major metropolises in terms of social ecology. The metropolitan area of Belo Horizonte consists

of the central city, its industrial and residential suburbs, and the periphery where the recreational area is found. The central city is primarily a trade and transportation center with residential housing as well. The topographical aspect of Belo Horizonte and its environs has influenced its development and gives the city itself an unusual structure. It is situated between the mountainous region of central Minas Gerais and the wide plains of the São Francisco valley. The central city is relatively flat, including the portion of the city planned in 1897, bounded by the Contorno Avenue. The portions of the city which reflect expansion outside of this area are in parts extremely hilly. The stream which passes through the center of the city has few bridges which created problems of access to the northwestern part of the city which has flatter terrain.

Belo Horizonte has benefited from its central geographic position in the state by attracting commerce and trade from areas of Minas Gerais formerly linked to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (see Figure 1 above). In addition, it is located in the center of the Iron Quadrangle which has allowed it to become a major steel center. In its industrial park, the most important industry in terms of employment and income generated is steel followed by textiles and food processing. In the 1970 census, the metropolitan area of Belo Horizonte (described as its micro-region) had the highest density of population in the state: 293.97 inhabitants per square kilometer (IBGE 1971:13).

Clearly, Belo Horizonte is rapidly modernizing through the immense economic changes which have resulted in the establishment of large factories, central offices of corporations and agencies, and new types of employer-employee relationships. In response to this change, the administrative institutions have expanded to accommodate the greater population of the metropolitan area. The religious institutions have exhibited a great degree of modernization. For example, the churches have entered into new roles, becoming active in social service functions and initiating new programs of activities for members. The number of Protestant churches, the openness of worship in Protestant sects and the size of the non-Catholic churches and their property holdings all indicate a greater diversity of religious belief and a more open acceptance of pluralism and the secular outlook associated with modernization (GTBH 1972). The number of schools and the variety of outlooks such as Protestant, Catholic, municipal, state,commercial, vocational, foreign language and others which are presented by their staffs also indicate increased secularization (GTBH 1972). The public sector in secondary education has more facilities per capita than small regional centers, but the majority of the secondary schools are not run by government or private institutions. As a result of the industrialization, secularization and modernization of Belo Horizonte, increasing status differentiation is occurring there, resulting in the emergence of a middle class.

The Middle Class: Life Style and Values

If one defines the "essence of social stratification" as does Marvin Harris by the "asymmetrical distribution of power," (Harris 1971:414), one readily sees that in Brazilian society as found in Belo Horizonte the middle and lower classes are indeed constrained to expend energy under conditions set by superordinate elites to enhance their own power. This definition is perhaps most useful on the level of macro-analysis of society-wide stratification, but not so useful for discerning what Harris himself calls subcultural differences within classes (Harris 1971:426).

This study makes use of such subcultural differentiation within the class of the subordinated precisely because it is an area of impact of urbanization on behavior. Brazilian middle classes, as in the rest of Latin America, are predominately urban phenomena (Wagley 1968:197).

A word of caution concerning the definition of middle class is appropriate here. The term, middle class, does not refer to the same set of occupations, income levels and prestige ranking for Brazilians as it does for North Americans. As Wagley points out, for instance, the middle class in Latin American society is poorly paid, and some practitioners of lower prestige occupations may earn more money than practitioners of higher prestige middle class occupations (1968:197). Furthermore, some occupations which might be considered middle class in the United States would be considered lower class in Brazil.

However, this study does not propose to enter into the debate about the usefulness or universality of one stratificational analysis as opposed to another. The class which has been studied here considers itself to be middle class and is looked upon by upper strata as middle class, although members of lower classes may consider middle class people "rich."

Thus, for the purposes of this study, I have concluded, after spending thirteen months in Belo Horizonte, that there is an objectively identifiable stratum which can be called a middle class, based on the criteria of level of income, occupational prestige, level of education, life style and attitudes. The identifying characteristics of this stratum are summarized as follows. The level of income of members of the middle class in Belo Horizonte allows them to have domestic servants (housekeepers, maids, laundresses and nurses for children) as well as such technological amenities as automobiles, televisions and telephones.

Both men and women tend to be concerned about having a "satisfying" and "interesting" career which has relatively high pay without being too "hard" work. The criteria of "hardness" include boring, repetitive and dull tasks, requiring strength and dexterity rather than mental accuity. Members of the middle class are known for holding multiple jobs which often are very tiring due to the premium placed on time available, but all of which require intelligence and special training. For instance, the administrator of

a prestigious high school was also a professor at a medical school. Another example is that of a man who held two professorships and a government appointment at the same time.

Members of the middle class say that they value being close to members of their families and the places in which they grew up; in addition, their behavior shows that they live near relatives. They view the city as being a better place to live than the country (the interior) which refers to smaller cities, towns, villages as well as rural open country. The interior is described as nice but without the means to live a decent life (sem recursos). The members of the middle class view themselves as being self-initiating in career choices, but they know and depend on the personal evaluations of administrators (often through family members) to help them succeed in their professional lives rather than stringent rules or bureaucratic "fairness" edicts.

In their personal lives their attitudes toward marriage reflect change from "traditional" Brazilian patterns. Marriage is often deferred until after education and employment are secured for both the husband and wife. Many, especially women, hold egalitarian sex-role ideals. This phenomenon usually is found in families where women contribute substantially to the family income. Younger women, unlike their mothers, feel free to have non-domestic roles but not to abandon the roles of home manager and mother. Today it is a more common attitude, especially among the younger women, that marriage should not deny a woman a career but that the

career should be balanced with the woman's primary responsibilities for running the home. However, the idea that a woman should commit herself to full time childrearing, consumerism and domestic duties is becoming obsolete, and the younger women pity the older women whose children have left them with "nothing to do." The idea that the woman should always accede to her husband's demands has given way to the concept of "give and take" and mutual understanding in marriage in the ideals of the middle class.

Attitudes on childrearing approximate Herbert Gans' model of the adult-directed pattern (Gans 1962:54). Parents see themselves under the obligation to provide healthful and beneficial living conditions for their children, but the children, in return, are expected to conform to adult life styles and refrain from interfering with adult wishes. Parents state that secondary and university education is very important for children to obtain the most satisfactory professional life. Therefore, childrearing practices are said to be aimed at developing "good personal adjustment" for the child, providing play and enrichment opportunities for them in areas such as art, music and foreign language learning. Children are instructed to make choices in life which will be beneficial to the families' and their own futures. This orientation is not clearly individualistic. On the contrary, childrearing practices seem to be aimed at sensitizing children to decisions which affect the familial situation. Learning that family members are key contacts

for gaining and maintaining status in the society begins at a young age. Children receive guidance, attention, gifts and punishment from various family members, not just their parents. Romances between cousins as children are common and are encouraged by the adults in a joking fashion, although cousin marriage is exceedingly rare in the urban setting, a change from the agrarian generation now in middle and old age.*

This chapter has attempted to outline the methodology and the setting for the study in order to show how the particular set of problems outlined in the previous chapter will be answered by the data collected and the analysis given to it. The particular methods chosen for this study in conjunction with the setting of a rapidly modernizing Brazilian metropolis with a growing middle sector are especially appropriate for research into middle class urban kinship networks and the impact of the forces of modernization, urbanization and industrialization on them.

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*Salzano and Friere-Maia report that the rate of consanguineous marriages declined between 1924 and 1952 (1967:84). They also report that Minas Gerais is in an area with a medium degree of inbreeding (1967:86).

CHAPTER III

THE ORIENTING FAMILY: ROLES AND FUNCTIONS

The study of networks of middle class kin provides a better opportunity to explore the dimensions of the way of life in this strata in the urban setting than traditional structural perspectives. Most of the concepts and categories which social scientists customarily use to discuss kinship patterns were originally developed for the purpose of the definition of a fairly rigid social structure. This study uses many of these traditional concepts and categories, but attempts to adapt them to the network approach, which, of course, emphasizes the options open to individuals and discusses decision-making and procedures used by members of networks. As a result, this study begins by defining the orienting family within the developmental cycle of domestic groups (Goody 1958) and then discusses individuals, their identity formation and the ways in which interpersonal roles are adopted and evolve.

The Orienting Family: A Definition

In this chapter, the Brazilian data collected by the previously described strategies and techniques are analyzed for content relative to the reference group I chose to call the orienting family. I use this designation because of certain problems with Warner's dichotomy adopted by Parsons

between the family of orientation and the family of procreation. The family of orientation, according to Parsons, was the family reference group of the child, adolescent or unmarried adult in American culture. The family of procreation, on the other hand, was the familial reference group of the married adult (Parsons 1943). Parsons was attempting to make an important distinction between the family one grows up with in United States culture from the family one lives in during adulthood and old age.

This distinction, however, is simplistic even in its application to the United States case since growing numbers of people in that society live in kin arrangements which they assert do not exist for the purposes of procreation, but for mutual aid, companionship and other types of support (Peck and Senderowitz 1974:249-314). In addition, much of the literature on the family in theUnited States supports the contention that socialization or orientation is an on-going process in the family, within which adults and children orient adults as well as adults orient children (Barry and Roberts 1972; Banton 1970; Thomas 1971; Lewis 1971).

Nevertheless, Parson's notion that the child's-eye-view of the family should be conceptually distinguished from the adult's-eye-view in analyzing the family is important because these two views and concepts associated with them are often quite different. The Brazilian example

reported in this study demonstrate that the two concepts are not only culturally distinct, but are even linguistically treated in a distinct fusion in the Brazilian language. In this chapter, therefore, I will discuss the aspects of orienting and being oriented which occur in Brazilian middle class culture. I am not discussing a pure, nuclear family, since such an entity rarely exists for more than a few months at a time in the developmental cycle of domestic groups among middle class Brazilians. I am discussing the role relationships among the members of domestic groups which lead to the amalgamation of the members into self-recognizing kinship group which plays a number of unique roles in Brazilian urban culture.

The Developmental Cycle: The Child's View

Among the urban middle class Brazilian families studied, most children live for the first several years of their lives in residential groups which are composed of father, mother, siblings and servants, a group Berlinck defines as the "service extended family" (Berlinck 1969:32) and which I call the core residential unit (see Chapter IV). During this period they also spend significant periods of time each day with other members of their kinship networks, usually grandparents, especially maternal grandmothers, and aunts, uncles and cousins. During the teen years, many such residential units gain a widowed grandparent, usually a matrilateral grandmother or a spinster aunt. During both of these phases of the cycle, cousins sometimes

come to stay with the residential group for relatively short periods such as vacations or for longer periods such as several years of schooling.

The next phase in the developmental cycle is the addition of a spouse of one of the children to the residential group. Although most children marry to leave home and establish their own core units, it is not unusual to have one married child living at home with her/his spouse. Widowed, abandoned or legally separated daughters sometimes rejoin the parental home bringing their children with them, but in many cases they avoid such a loss of autonomy, even if they have to give up their children.

Pregnancy usually signals the time for the young married couple living in the home of one set of parents to set up their own household. The preferred location for this apartment or house is near the wife's parental home either in the same apartment building, on the same street or at least in the same neighborhood. At this time the young couple sets up a core residential unit which gains and loses members as previously described, until the couple, in late middle age, is left residing alone, but usually near at least one of their daughters, whose children are often daily visitors in their home. Thus, when the widowed parent joins the child's domestic group, continual contact usually has been maintained throughout the years with the child, the spouse of the child and the children of the child.

The Concept of Family

While the concept of domestic group should be, for analytical purposes, distinct from the concept of the family as advocated by Fortes (1958:1-13), in actual practice, especially in American culture, they are used interchangeably. The literature on the institution of the United States family has created a concept of family which reflects North American culture. Parsons claimed that Americans make a basic distinction between "family" as the conjugal unit, and "relatives" as any kinsman (1943:25). In addition, Parsons' hypothesis, that the necessity to maintain symmetrical ties with both husband's and wife's relatives caused the increasing emphasis on isolation of the conjugal unit, is supported by his assertion that kinship terminology has an "onion" type structure, and that siblings' spouses are terminologically assimilated to sibling status (1943:26).

Arensberg's findings which emphasized that the American term "family" (when used to mean only spouse and offspring or even only spouse) would be difficult to explain in other cultures, are supported by the present study. Although the "immediate family" is universal in existence, it is, according to Arensberg, extremely varied in the component roles, duration, size of household and behavior patterns. Furthermore, he points out that in many cultures the conjugal relationship and the cooperation of married partners may not be the central family relationship. He concludes that the American family must be seen as the result of a

limited and and highly particular social and legal evolution which should not be generalized to Brazilian society (1965:230).

Schneider also defines the concept of the "family" in American society somewhat differently from Parsons and Arensberg. The term "family" can mean all of one's relatives but "my family" or "the family" means a unit which consists of the conjugal unit and offspring (1968:30). As will be shown below, the American usage of "family" cannot be literally translated into the família of Brazilian culture because família is used differently in Brazilian Portuguese from "family" in American English.

The Concept of Família

Most of the previous descriptive and functional studies of Brazilian kinship have noted that the term família had several distinctive meanings. Wagley's discussion of Brazilian concepts of family reports the difference in usage between the term família and the terms for spouse and children. The família is an Ego-focused kindred which emphasizes consanguineal relations. However, when referring to the nuclear family of female spouse and children a male will use the terms "mulher e filhos" rather than família. Kottak (1967) noted that the term was found to mean either the nuclear family, or the parentela, or an ancestor-oriented kin group. Borges Costa (1955) allowed two definitions: either the nuclear group or the parentela.

Use of "Família" by Informants

The findings of this study indicate that the term família (family) is used in a number of different ways by Brazilian informants. It was frequently used to refer to the sibling group, i.e., "I was the sixth child in a family of twelve," or "I come from a family of five brothers and sisters." It was also used by married adults to refer to their childhood domestic residence group in contrast with that of their spouses, as in "My family lives relatively near." Sometimes it was used to refer to some part of the extended kin group, as in "all the family went," "the whole family attended the birthday luncheon," or "my mother's family was handsome," or "his whole family is in the Army," or "I don't like family gatherings." It was also used to refer to a unit consisting of parents and children from the viewpoint of the children, as in "the family moved" or "the family was transferred." Finally, it was used by women to refer to other women's husband and children, as in "she is totally devoted to her family," although it was never used that way by a woman talking about her own husband and children. Furthermore, the term família was never used by males to refer to the unit of wife and children; there, the usual terms were "woman and children" (mulher e filhos), confirming Wagley's findings.

The informants studied apparently see "família" as a concept to be used in a variety of situationally appropriate ways. It does not always or even primarily mean the unit

of husband, wife and children, especially from the viewpoint of the husband and wife. Indeed, it was more ordinary for the adults to refer to "the people at home" (pessoal em casa) rather than the "family" when discussing the residential group.

Informants expressed strong attitudes about their own famílias: that they were important, normal and good, that their parents were kind to them and fussed over them, that children were treated in a balanced fashion when parents and grandparents distributed presents and other benefits. The questionnaire data support these attitudes. Out of 229 middle class respondents, 72.5% reported that the família was "extremely important" to them, with only 0.4% reporting that the família was "relatively unimportant" to them. It is assumed that respondents used família, as most Brazilians do, in its extended sense.

TABLE II

What is the Importance of the Família in Your Life?

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
1. Extremely important	166	72.5
2. Important	53	23.1
3. So-So	9	3.9
4. Relatively without importance	1	0.4
5. Without any importance	0	0.0

Some of the reasons for this use of the concept of família and the values associated with it can be discovered by looking at the formation of individual identity in the enculturation process. In this study the term família will be translated as family, but the distinctive Brazilian usage is the connotation intended.

Individual Identity

This study revealed that the notion of autonomy in decision-making, especially in choosing career and other life goals among the urban middle class Brazilians studied is virtually unknown. One mother said, "Our children are very dependent. They like the comfort of staying at home." The idea of a child leaving home to set up her/his own apartment before marriage was unheard of, except in the cases of university students who were living in another city to attend school. Another mother commented that if a daughter were to move away from home before marriage, it would be "an affront, that she no longer wanted to have anything to do with her parents." Another informant said that if a daughter left home it would be more serious than a son "because we're still in the medieval mentality that a woman has to be led from hand to hand, from father to husband." The idea of remaining at home until marriage is correlated with the strong control parents desire to exert over premarital sexuality and spouse selection of female children. Premarital chastity is expected of females

although it is assumed that males have premarital sexual experiences. Males are also thought to be incapable of taking care of themselves in the domestic context, and that therefore the notion of a male residing alone or with other males is considered absurd, although males do romanticize the role of the single bachelor.

Individual Identity and Sex Role Differentiation

The sharp differentiation of sex roles begins early. Little boys are ridiculed for invading the female sphere by playing with dolls, toy dishes, pans or furniture. One afternoon, I observed two mothers, a maid, and two female children, aged 3 and 4 laughing at a 3-year-old boy for trying to "mother" a doll. His 4-year-old sister, hands on her hips, told him, "Look Roderico, you have to be the father, because you are a man. Now, I'll be the mother, she'll be the maid and you'll be the father." The other women laughed at his disappointed expression. A child psychologist who was interviewed said "parents don't allow boys to cry or play with dolls. They are more rigorous in their expectations of sons. If I find that a boy has a mental deficiency, it's much more difficult to tell the parents." Much more is expected of boys in terms of school work and grades too. One young man described how, during his childhood, he became extremely ill through foolishly going swimming in a polluted stream, but nevertheless forced himself to take his final exams in order to avoid the wrath

of his parents, especially his father, as a result of his mistake.

According to a number of informants, male children are more highly valued by adult males than female children. One informant reported that the youngest of her sibling group was the only male, "ardently awaited by my father." Another informant reported that when a male is born, everyone congratulates the parents and says how good it is, but when a female is born, people often say, "What a pity, another who will suffer." Men often tease pregnant women about the arrival of an herdeiro (a male heir). Precedents for this favoritism exist in the rural traditions of Minas Gerais. Legally, children were supposed to inherit equally, regardless of sex, but in fact, inheritances were often divided unequally if not in quantity then in quality. Often the female heirs of landed estates got smaller pieces of poor quality land, which they usually agreed to sell to their brothers for very low prices. (Informants reported these events in their family histories.) In addition, some families had birthright traditions which accorded certain privileges to males which were not accorded to females. One informant reported, "While my grandfather was alive, each grandson born received a cow as a birthright. These cattle would be taken care of on the farm and all of their offspring would accrue to the grandson. The granddaughters received nothing. A couple of years ago, my brother sold enough cattle to make a trip to the United States."

The roles played by women are learned by middle class Brazilian girls through play and imitation, but rarely through formal instruction. Many women felt inadequate to the tasks of organizing and managing a home upon marriage. One informant said, "Girls are not taught anything about domestic tasks. I had never done anything when I married." This lack of training in domestic management is due in large part to the prevalence of servants among this class. In addition, the girls learn to hold negative attitudes toward their own sexuality. One mother told me that when she gave a sexual orientation to her daughter for the first time that her daughter's response was "I'm never going to marry." Her mother attributed this to her virtues of morality and modesty. Middle class Brazilian girls learn that domestic tasks such as clearning and cooking are not valued highly and that sexual acts are supposedly impure. They also learn, however, that to achieve their goals they must manipulate others to respond to their needs. In one of the families studied, a young woman who worked at a bank quit her job to stay home. According to a number of her relatives, she was jealous of her brother whose college education had been paid for by their parents. Her parents wanted her to get married and didn't believe that she should go to school, so she stayed home. Her father gave her an allowance equivalent to her former salary, with which to buy items for her trousseau.

It was common for the girls of these families to work

before marriage, but only professional women continued to work after marriage. Many employers, including the Bank of Brazil, have rules against employing married women. Parents encourage their daughters to work if they do not have marriage prospects available, but fathers, husbands and boyfriends often put pressure on young women to quit jobs or refrain from working. Non-professional occupations were considered demeaning to the family's prestige; only financial necessity induces these women to pursue such jobs. Many families had histories of conflicts between fathers and daughters, contests of will concerning the appropriate behavior expected of young women. Mothers, on the other hand, rarely were reported as aggressive or attempting to force attitudes or actions on their children. Legally, the civil code bears out this difference between the father and mother role, in the area of the granting of permission for marriages of minors. "In the case both parents are alive, the father's word will prevail. Only a judge can overrule a father's decision"(Civil Code 183:I-XI).

The traditional religious views on sex roles which are formally taught in parochial schools, that girls should be pious and virtuous, were thought by most female informants to be psychologically harmful. One informant put it this way, "I had faith; I was pious, but I really didn't like this stuff about being a 'daughter of Mary.' Why not enjoy yourself, you are making a good use of parties and then Christ also is a happy Christ . . . . When I realized

this, Christ stopped being a Christ with a whip in hand and changed into a Christ with a baton in hand." Brazilian parents discourage pietistic behavior in their children and usually discourage their children from entering religious vocations. As a result, those who enter the seminary or convent are usually people who possess psychological traits which are different from the ordinary or who had different role models.

Individual Identity and Occupations

Informants discussed forty-seven different occupations with respect to their preferences, their families' attitudes and their own criteria for occupational choice. Occupations identified as working class jobs, such as salesperson, non-graduate nurse, factory worker, watchman, seamstress, tailor, carter, laundress, electrician, maid, plumber, and carpenter were denigrated. No one interviewed desired to follow any of these occupations. Typically, middle class Brazilians scoff at the crude manners of working class members. One informant reported that her brother always said that when a person was using profane, obscene or gross speech that "he has opened the manual of the carter or the laundress." The occupation of nursing is associated with little of the professional dignity accorded it in the United States. Indeed, it was common for middle class families to nurse their own members during hospital stays because nurses are considered incompetent and careless of their patients.

Most informants wanted to have professional or white collar occupations, with the exception of many of the women who aspired to be donas da casa (homemakers) and mothers.* The occupations which were mentioned as being held and esteemed within the group studied included bank manager, student, teacher, journalist, school administrator, biologist, engineer, medical doctor, librarian, publisher, college professor, bank clerk, secretary, lawyer, judge, computer programmer, business manager, artist, musician, veterinarian, landlord, priest, nun, flight attendant, travel agent, bureaucrat, state governor, government minister, pharmacist, homemaker, mother, ranch owner-operator, tax collector, psychologist, sociologist, architect and interpreter. Within these occupations, informants made the most favorable comments about a small group including journalist, biologist, engineer, medical doctor, veterinarian, pharmacist, psychologist and architect. The prestige of these occupations seems to result from the great amount of education required for them which limits entry and all but excludes persons of lower class origin. In addition, they are, on the whole, lucrative professions which are in demand, minimizing the necessity for geographic mobility.

An interesting characteristic of the notion of occupational identity in the group studied seems to result from the Brazilian identity card system. The identity card

*Informants did not treat "wife" (esposa or mulher) as an occupational category.

system labels college graduates with a particular designation, whether or not they are actually employed in that occupation. As a result, the prestige of an occupation accrues to a person upon attaining the qualifications to follow it, rather than on the actual exercise of the occupation.

Individual Identity and the Family

Even before marriage, members of the middle class in Belo Horizonte are not very individualistic in orientation. Sex role differences are a very important part of the socialization process and are reflected in many aspects of individual identity. Attitudes are formed toward various occupations which influence career choice. However, the most important aspect impinging upon individual identity among the middle class of Belo Horizonte is the pervasive power of the residential unit and the extended family. This influence tends to promote certain social personality traits. Some traits found include submission to authority, independence from non-family members and concomitant dependency on the family, indecision, high interaction needs, expectation of communal resolution of conflict, familial solidarity, sensitivity to informal social sanctions such as gossip, guilt at separation from the family, perception of self as group member, notion of the necessity of balance and equity, weakness in acceptance of deferred gratification, family pride, repression of anger, passivity, rebelliousness, martyrdom, and enforced empathy (expectation to feel the way others do).

These traits are illustrated by behavior and formal legal definitions of familial power. For example, in a conflict with her mother-in-law, one informant called upon her father and brothers to protect her. Another informant reported lengthy consultation with her father about a potential marriage she was considering. A third informant who argued with her husband about lending money to their son, arranged a loan from her brother to demonstrate she "could resolve things alone."

The legal code gives the father almost total power over minor children (under age 16) and continuing influence over adult children. The father must bring up and educate children and give them "moral, spiritual and professional" orientation. He is expected to keep them "in his company." His consent is necessary for the marriage of minor children. The children must give both parents "obedience, respect and services." The father has the right to use the goods of the children except in the case of his exclusion. The father's power over children can be suspended if the father abuses his power or fails to fulfill his obligations vis-a-vis the child. The code specifies that the father is to "give assistance" to his children who are no longer minors (Civil Code 183). As a result, the power of the family is quite influential in the development of individual identity.

Marriage

In Brazil, marriage, when properly carried out, is considered permanent. (There is no divorce in Brazil, although under certain circumstances a marriage can be considered as never taking place.) When anyone, including members of the middle class in Belo Horizonte, marries, a ritual event takes place which signals changes in personal roles, status and the expectations associated with them. These changes occur in the areas of occupational and career activity, sexuality, psychic dependence, jealousy, surname use, and residence.

The Marriage Ritual

Members of the middle class almost always have both civil and religious wedding ceremonies, since each act is considered a separate event, giving separate rights and duties. Civil marriage covers legal rights, religious marriage, social sanction.

Marriage in Brazil and elsewhere is a rite which indisputably makes changes in status which are important to society, the families and the individuals involved. But not all anthropologists agree that all types of marriage are strictly defined as "rites of passage." Gluckman (1962), for instance, claims that the "rites of passage" as defined by Van Gennep (1909) are "incompatible with the structure of modern urban life." He asserts that although some ceremonies exist to mark changes of status in modern societies,

that these rites are not the same kind as those found in tribal societies (Gluckman 1962:37). Gluckman allows that although etiquette and convention exist in the rites of modern society they do not include the mystical association between social misfortune and ritual failure found among tribal people (1962:38). However, he does recognize that he has overstated the contrast between the two types of societies, and that, indeed, there are often "pockets of social relations" in modern societies which have rites of passage which are quite similar to those of tribal societies (1962:43). Gluckman's point is somewhat well taken in that it is undeniable that the quality of ritual life of the majority of urban residents is less than mystical and perhaps more segregated from other activities than that of tribal peoples. Nevertheless, these "pockets" do occur in all modern societies because of subcultural segmentation. In the present study, the networks of middle class people which are being examined constitute one of these pockets and for good reason. Although this class is not in the majority among Brazil's residents it is much more powerful than its numbers would indicate and it has strong economic and political interests which require the maintenance of group solidarity through rites of incorporation such as the marriage ritual.

Middle class weddings achieve this goal through the involvement of kin in the ritual of marriage as well as the involvement of kin in the facilitation of the bureaucratic

exigencies of the legal and religious process. (The preceding courtship and spouse selection are dealt with later in this chapter in the discussion of the interactions between parents and children.) Before discussing the direct involvement of kin in the marriage ritual and other phases of the process, however, a description of the components of marriage must be given. Before receiving the legal right to marry, a young couple which desires to marry must fulfill requirements for each of the two types of ceremonies, the religious and the civil. The religious ceremony cannot be held without permission from the church hierarchy to marry, ideally requiring the submission of baptismal certificates, certificates of completion of a premarital counseling course and the posting of the bans. A priest must celebrate the wedding with the presence of at least four godparents who are charged with counseling the couple in case of problems.

The civil ceremony is not supposed to take place without birth certificates and a statement of marital status. Women must be at least 16 years of age, men, 18 years of age. Between those ages and the age of majority of years written authorization of father's consent to marry is required. In addition, two witnesses must submit affidavits that no impediments exist between the parties. Proof of death, annulment or an approved foreign divorce are necessary for previously married persons. These documents are submitted to the Civil Registry which issues proclamations of intent to marry which are published as legal

notices in newspapers and posted in a public place for 15 days. Following this period, a 3-month marriage license is issued to the couple. The civil marriage is performed by a notary public and must be registered after the ceremony in order to be valid. Civil marriages are considered void if certain "absolute" impediments exist. A spouse may not be related by adoptive, consanguineal or affinal ties of lineal kinship. In other words, one may not marry ancestors or descendants. Furthermore, marriages between consanguineal or adoptive siblings are deemed void. Persons who are already married also may not marry again. Finally, a marriage cannot take place if one of the parties has been convicted of adultery or of the murder of the former spouse of the other party (Civil Code, Article 183: I-VIII).

Relative impediments to marriage exist if one of the parties is coerced into marriage by physical violence or kidnapping or is incompetent to make a legally binding decision by being deaf and dumb or by being insane. Minors, younger than 16 for girls and 18 for boys, are also considered incompetent to make the decision to marry and may not marry except in the case of pregnancy and, then, only with judicial consent (Civil Code 183:IX-XII). Marriage is also prohibited for reason of "confusion of inheritances," that is, until the estate of the dead spouse is settled or until ten months have passed for the possible birth of a child of the dead spouse. The 10-month waiting period can

be waived if proof of impotency or non-cohabitation of the spouses prior to death is submitted. Trustees, guardians and fiduciaries and their lineal kin, siblings, spouses of siblings and children of siblings are prohibited from marrying their wards without judicial permission under the same principle (conflict of interest).

Members of the middle class who wish to marry but find the necessary documentation for the two ceremonies difficult to obtain sometimes call upon kin to facilitate the bureaucratic process. One couple, for example, who were living in different cities at the time of engagement did not have time to attend the premarital counseling course offered by the church. The groom, therefore, contacted his cousin who was a priest, to certify that they had taken the course, when, in fact, they had not. This process of using "pull" or cutting red tape is referred to by the phrase dar um jeito. Kin are often called upon to help pull strings for their relatives in a variety of circumstances.

Usually both the religious and the civil ceremonies are attended by kin in both observer and participant roles. The civil ceremony usually has witnesses; the legal minimum is two, but no wedding I attended had less than four, a couple representing each party. These witnesses are often called godparents of civil marriages (padrinhos do casamento civil), although they are not involved in the religious ceremony. The religious ceremony

requires participation by at least two couples of godparents but often as many as four couples will participate. Both types of godparents are chosen almost entirely from the kinship network. The religious ceremony involves the participation of the bride, groom, godparents, priest, and sometimes, the whole body of relatives attending the ceremony. One religious ceremony I attended included spoken parts for the priest, the bride, the groom, the godparents, the relatives and all who attended. A small excerpt reflects the important role family members play in the process of establishing a new marriage.

> Family: Since the first day in which we sensed the beating of your hearts, our thoughts have returned to God, in prayers of offering and thanksgiving. Since that moment 'til today, we have tried to form in you the desire to live in love. With great joy, we saw the love between you born and become firm. Today we bless the union in which you propose to live. May God take you through the same path of love which he has taken us. May you have all of the strength to construct the home which you plan, under our confident gaze.
>
> Bride and Groom: We know how to construct our home, taking the solid foundation which you, our parents, with such struggle and self-sacrifice have been able to establish in our hearts.

It is exceedingly clear from the words of this ritual that the couple and the family are talking to each other and that the family expects to play a continued role in the couple's life.

Relatives sometimes become involved in more than just the ceremony. One woman described how many relatives and friends sought out her parents to get them to prohibit her

marriage because her intended husband was an outsider whom no one knew. The importance of the ritual of marriage as an incorporation rite for the families involved is indicated by the following story of a single girl who "married" a man who was legally separated (desquitado). Her mother said that this type of marriage "is a recognized marriage, in spite of not being recognized by law, legally, it is recognized by all families and all accept this type of marriage very well . . . . So we made a wedding for them through the offices of a 'priest' of a Brazilian church* which does these weddings, and she, after marrying him, went to Rio." During another discussion, the mother of the bride said that her daughter wanted the wedding at home in order to not call attention to it. She added that some people took the parts of godparents, but she didn't invite the relatives to do it "because they didn't understand as well as her contemporaries." But the relatives did attend the ceremony. Another woman who was herself desquitada arranged a "blessing" in a Catholic church, but it was not a wedding. Everyone said it was an attempt to dress up the truth, "to cover the sun with a sieve" as one relative put it.

The rites of remarriage seem to be less functional as rites of incorporation than a normal first marriage ceremony. Following both the civil and religious ceremonies the ritual continues with receptions where food and drink are often served. If the couple has the religious

*Igreja Catolica Brasileira (not a Roman Catholic church)

and civil ceremonies one after another on the same day, one reception will be given. Usually candy, cake and champagne are served. When the two ceremonies are on different days one informant said that a reception of drinks and hot hors d'oeurves was served after the civil ceremony on the eve of the religious ceremony. Following the religious ceremony, the bride hosted a luncheon for the godparents, the more intimate relatives and the relatives from out of town. The number of guests at the wedding ceremonies is often as many as 150, but the associated receptions and meals vary in the number of guests.

The rites are not necessarily segregated in specialized buildings. Very often the civil ceremony is in the home before the religious ceremony. However, religious ceremonies are almost always held in a church building.

Sex Roles in Marriage

The religious service traditionally makes allusions to the roles expected to be played by the spouses, reflecting the ideal pattern of the society. One religious service had the following spoken part for the entire assembled body of guests who address the Groom: "Your hands will have to work, but that work will give you support, and even happiness and well being. Your wife will be the companion who, with you, will create your home. Your children, fruit of your love, will bring joy to your table." As can be seen here, the husband is expected to support his wife and children, and the wife is expected to "create the home."

However, many middle class women have careers which take them outside the home, and often their income is what really allows the household to maintain a middle class life style. Usually, occupations pursued primarily by women have low pay and prestige. For instance, primary school teachers, almost all of whom are women, work four hours in the classroom per day plus preparation time for salaries near the minimum wage, approximately US $60 per month, although there are slight variations depending on whether the school is municipal or state. (State school teachers are paid slightly more.) Teachers at middle schools (ginásios) and high schools (colégios) (both male and female) are paid at a much higher rate, although their salaries are based on the number of classes they teach. They receive approximately US $2.00 to US $2.50 per class hour taught. Nevertheless, even at these low wages, middle class employed women can afford to hire servants for much less to perform domestic duties which are even lower in prestige. Many of these middle class women claim to obtain much satisfaction from their work, an additional incentive to seek employment, even at low wages. One woman who has a state job as a psychologist but who gets paid slightly more than a primary school teacher never complained about her pay, saying, "I like my job very much and I feel very fulfilled by it. It brings me a lot of satisfaction." She did not remark on the fact that her husband makes ten times her salary with a similar amount of education.

In co-worker situations, informants reported that women are often criticized unfairly and are rarely promoted. One woman, a biochemist, reported that her co-workers always seemed amazed when she did her work well. Another woman was incensed when her husband told her a story about discrimination against a female engineer by male co-workers.

> At my husband's work there is a woman who works there. The men give her wrong data so that her work comes out wrong. They are always surprised when she wins a competition or does very well. There used to be two girls working there, one of them was not a good professional and they wanted to send both of them away. José defended the other one against this discrimination. He didn't believe it when she told him that the others were giving her erroneous data. I found out when some of my husband's colleagues were boasting at a party that they were messing her up by giving her erroneous data.

Another informant said "there's a lot of talk about the changing role of woman in Brazil but it's more talk than action."

The Civil Code specifies the rights and the duties of the spouses. The husband is the "head of the matrimonial society" (Article 233, Law 4121, August 27, 1962). In this capacity he is the legal representative of the family, administrator of common property and his wife's property. It is his choice to decide where the family home will be and "family maintenance" is his responsibility "together with his wife." He is prohibited from alienating or mortgaging common property or the wife's property without her consent or give away donations of value. The wife may accept or

reject her own inheritances, act as a guardian, pursue a career outside the home, instigate civil suits on her own, and may, for professional purposes have "reserved goods" including a separate bank account, a house in her own name and the right to dispose of these goods as she sees fit.

Pereira's interpretation of the Civil Code states that a wife does not "do secondary work nor does she occupy a subordinated place. She directs her house, administers herself internally, supervises accompanies and directs her children's studies, hires and fires s ervants and does her shopping, even on credit" (1972:117). However, the power to contract loans, to purchase on credit and to make professional obligations is limited and requires husband's or judicial consent. Her legal rights also include the action as guardian or trustee for children of a former marriage and their property, and the reposession of improperly alienated common property and excessive donations or contributions made by her husband, whether or not a contract is involved, Brazilian women, therefore, are legally bound to their husband's power, but have certain types of legal recourse if he abuses his power.

Prior to the Civil Code of 1916, the "marital power" which was vested in the husband required the absolute obedience of the wife and made the women juridically incompetent, along with minors, the handicapped and the insane. The Law of August 27, 1962 (No. 4121), however, instituted the judicial equality of the two spouses

including common rights, mutual assistance in money, goods, and lodging, as well as the right of succession, although inheritance is shared with surviving children.

The remaining inequalities between husband and wife in Brazilian law are somewhat mitigated by the ways in which individuals are protected by family solidarity. A husband can try to dominate his wife, but she can and does call upon her kin to give her support of various kinds when she needs it. Sometimes the confrontations between husband and wife take on the characteristics of confrontations between their two families. One man who wanted his wife's permission to sell some common property enlisted his mother to talk to her. The mother insulted her daughter-in-law's virtue and family background when the daughter-in-law refused to acquiesce. The daughter-in-law, then, called her father to come and help her.

Another woman had to go live in another city because of her husband's decision to live there, but she got so depressed that she asked her mother to come and take her back to Belo Horizonte, her home town. One woman who has three children and is separated from her husband never receives her support payment from him. Her father therefore helps her by providing money and an apartment for her to live in. Men who have marital troubles sometimes attribute them to interference from in-laws. For example, one male informant asserted that it was his mother-in-law's fault that his wife decided to get a desquite. Sometimes

even the husband's family sides with the wife. But not all women are able to handle the marital imbalance of power effectively by mobilizing kin support. One informant reported that her aunt would get angry and go on a spending spree, buying clothes, jewelry, and china, or else would sleep away from her husband in the bathtub, or go to her brother's home.

Many more cases were discovered during the course of the research in which married daughters were financially assisted by grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, and siblings when husbands had misused marital authority. These cases involved alienation of property, nonpayment of loans, use of the wife's credit card and the donation of substantial gifts to persons not approved of by the wife. Apparently, although prohibited by law the formal legal system operates slowly or not at all in protecting the rights of married women. As a consequence, women must call upon their families to attempt the redress of the wrongs.

Married women dealt with more subtle dissatisfactions with marital relationships by complaining to kin and by diverting their own attentions to their children. Most married women observed and interviewed had complaints about their marital relationships, especially the psychic and physical absence of the husband, and many said they would not have married at all if they had known of the burdens and problems of marriage.

Many middle class women divert attention to their

careers, but end up by being forced to make their lives excessively complicated, causing them to become more dependent on their families for help. This dependency apparently influences their children's behavior. Girls of such working mothers were very unlikely to seek employment help from relatives while boys of working mothers were equally likely to seek such help from either relatives or non-relatives. Both boys and girls of non-working mothers were more likely to seek employment help from non-relatives than relatives (see Tables III and IV). Therefore, the data indicate that while female children of working mothers are unlikely to seek kin help in job hunting, male children of working mothers were more likely than any category to seek kin aid in employment seeking. In all categories, at least 25% of respondents would seek employment aid from kin, a quite significant percentage, although not a majority. It is difficult to interpret specifically why the differences exist by sex among children of working mothers while not existing among children of non-working mothers, but it is interesting that there are strong sex differences. They may indicate that female children see the difficult life style pursued by their mothers and choose careers such as motherhood which require less recruitment help from kin than do male children.

Thus, the difference in sex roles of Brazilian middle class spouses is founded in the economic dependencies decreed in the Civil Code, mitigated by the intervention

TABLE III

Cross-Tabulation for Male Respondents of Influence of Mother Working on Seeking Employment Aid from Relatives

	Mother Works? Yes	No	Row Total
Employment Aid from Relatives	7	30	37
Row Percentage	18.9	81.1	
Column Percentage	50.0	42.9	
Total Percentage	8.3	35.7	44.0
Employment Aid from Others	7	40	47
Row Percentage	14.9	85.1	
Column Percentage	50.0	57.1	
Total Percentage	8.3	47.6	56.0
Total Respondents	14	70	84
Total Percentage	16.7	83.3	100.0

Corrected Chi Square = 0.03864 with 1 Degree of Freedom
Significance = 0.8442
Phi = 0.05362

TABLE IV

Cross-Tabulation for Female Respondents of Influence of Mother Working on Seeking Employment Aid from Relatives

	Mother Works? Yes	No	Row Total
Employment Aid from Relatives	8	45	53
Row Percentage	15.1	84.9	
Column Percentage	25.0	42.5	
Total Percentage	5.8	32.6	38.4
Employment Aid from Others	24	61	85
Row Percentage	28.2	71.8	
Column Percentage	75.0	57.5	
Total Percentage	17.4	44.2	61.6
Total Respondents	32	106	138
Total Percentage	23.2	76.8	100.0

Corrected Chi Square = 2.47020 with 1 Degree of Freedom
Significance = 0.1160
Phi - 0.15144

of each spouse's kin group in support of their members. The entry of Brazilian middle class women with teenage children into the work force is still quite limited (20.8%), according to survey results. In addition, this entry of women into the work force does not seem to decrease dependence on kin but in certain cases seems to increase it.

Sexuality in Marriage

The relationship between conjugal sexuality and family problems is an important theme in Brazilian middle class culture. Legally married women are expected to have sexual intercourse with their husbands on demand. If a woman refuses to engage in sexual intercourse and then abandons her home, the husband no longer has to support her. If a man abandons his home, on the other hand, the separation must last two years before she can ask for a legal separation of property, a desquite (Civil Code, Article 233). According to Pereira, the common life of the couple required by the law, implies sexual intercourse (1972).

According to informants sex is used by wives to attempt to gain power over their husbands. One woman was reported to withhold sex and her physical presence whenever her husband refused something to her. Another woman claimed her husband was insatiable and that the granting of sexual favors gave her the ability to control him, although she became annoyed at his insistence.

On the other hand, husbands sometimes use the threat of adultery or promiscuity to enforce their will on their

wives or to avoid the emotional blackmail of the sexual politics described above. It is reportedly common for married men to engage in sexual intercourse with women other than their wives. It is less common for them to leave the residential unit because of an outside liaison. Although this happens, men often return to their wives' home when they are seriously or terminally ill. Legally, the wife can repossess goods, money or any property given to the "concubine of the husband" (Pereira 1972:117).

Some women respond to their husband's infidelity with rage. One woman described the time that her cousin came to her to tell her that her husband had been seen in the "bohemian zone" of the city, a euphemism for the area where prostitutes openly solicit customers. Her reaction was to get her revolver and go to get him. She drove to the place where he was said to be, and called a young boy to go in and get her husband. The boy was said to be shaking when he saw the gun, but he went to get the husband. When he arrived, she said, gesturing with the revolver, "Respect me as I respect you. Go home." And he went.

Usually, however, the infidelity of husbands is not viewed as harshly as that of wives. The "deception" of a husband by his wife is said to reflect on his masculinity. One of the strongest insults a woman can get is to be accused of adultery, which is usually provoked by anger and responded to in an equally strong manner. When one wife refused to cooperate with her husband's wish to become

involved in a risky investment, her mother-in-law began to spread rumors that she was in love with her colleague from work. In another case, when a wife refused sexual relations with her husband, he accused her of seeking other men. Her bitter reply, according to her, was "I have no use for men, but if I were after one it wouldn't be you."

In general, social sanctions against unfaithful husbands are weak. But people often will gossip about and avoid such men. One woman described an encounter with a man who was known for his seductions.

> He is a "gaveão" (hawk).* It was the first time he talked to me. I didn't speak, smiled only. I lowered my head. He looks at a person with his pretty face and that evil visage (cara de cafajeste malandro). Yesterday I saw him at the club when I went with the children. His wife was talking with me and a neighbor of mine. He came up and I didn't like it.

Another informant described an unfaithful husband as a cold, calculating person. Suit for desquite on grounds of a wife's adultery can be counter-sued by the wife on the grounds of defamation of character.

Sexuality is involved with much of the law relating to marriage. Adultery, for example, is defined as voluntary extramarital sexual intercourse (Civil Code Article 315-324). Marriage by force, violence or kidnapping is invalid (Civil Code 183:IX-XII). As mentioned above, widows who are potentially pregnant at the date of death of the spouse must wait to remarry for 10 months (Civil Code Article 226). Homosexual marriages are prohibited

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*Hawk: a man who is looking for easy prey.

(Civil Code, Chapter VI, Article 201-224) and are deemed never to have existed. Among the grounds for annulment is the "unknown defloration" of the wife prior to marriage (Ibid.). If one spouse induced or entrapped the other into sexual intercourse with other people, this act is not legally defined as adultery, nor are acts of extramarital sexual intercourse which have been forgiven by the innocent partner, either explicitly or implicitly, when the couple has intercourse after the alleged act and the innocent partner had knowledge of the act (Civil Code 183:IX-XII).

In summary, sexual intercourse is implicit in the definition of marriage in Brazilian law and is explicitly intertwined with the wife's right of support and other property arrangements. As a result, sexuality becomes a bargaining tool between spouses and their respective kin groups in property disputes, household budgeting, inheritances, support payments for wives, and the alienation of property in favor of a concubine. These aspects are illustrated through legal, formal sanctions as well as informal ones which function to maintain the economic integrity of the husband-wife dyad.

Psychic Interdependence of the Conjugal Pair

The literature on the effects of urbanization on the family indicates that a high degree of psychic interdependence of the conjugal pair is often correlated with a low degree of extended kin interaction (Bott 1957). Thus, the

antipathy between husbands and wives and the relatively sharp sex role distinctions are not surprising findings among a group like the Belo Horizonte middle class. Complaints of wives about their husbands reflect differences in values, cultural expectations, remuneration for services rendered and the double standard of behavior associated with the difference in sex roles and activities of male and female spouses. One informant said, "He thought in the old, closed way until now he's the same as his parents. My parents were young and cultured; his were old and simple. (What I suffered!) He was the same as his parents. People are what they get at home." Another described the women of the household as acting with great solidarity while the men felt uncomfortable in that domain. My observation in one household showed that the cooperation of mother, daughters and spinster aunt was marked in domestic chores while the father and sons ate and left the house for their store as quickly as possible, remaining aloof most of the time they were home.

Some husbands discourage their wives from exercising their professions. One informant who was active in journalism before marriage described the elaborate measures she took to hide her professional activities from her husband. She wrote scripts for TV programs, and articles for newspapers under a pseudonym. But she was never able to get her professional license because she was required to have used her own name as a byline for six months.

Some husbands emphasize the psychic separation of the conjugal pair by keeping information from their wives about their business activities and financial affairs. One of the wife's duties is to do almost all of the household shopping for food, clothing and other necessities. However, as one woman put it, "She, who has to buy everything and has to bear the rising cost of living, has to rely on the may who doles out the money in little drops. When the money is needed, it just doesn't come." Married women who experience this kind of relationship begin to lose the desire to make individual decisions. According to an informant, "Sometimes I think I don't know anything. You'll have to ask my husband because he's the one who knows how to think." Another informant, who has a somewhat more egalitarian relationship with her husband, said, "Once my husband asked me if I had done something he had asked me to do. When I told him what I had done, in my own way, and explained that I thought it best, he said, 'You shouldn't have thought. You should have just done it.' I told him simply that I did it the best I could, and he would have to be more explicit in the future. I think my response is unusually independent and frightening to men. They feel the whole world is changing."

The feelings of distance between husband and wife shown in these examples, are associated with dependence on extended family contacts for various types of assistance and support. One woman described how she and her husband

had moved to a small city in the interior of Minas Gerais. During this time her father died and she became very distraught. She described her feeling of loss of that dependable reliable relationship in comparison with her relationship with her husband in the following words:

> The death of my father changed a lot of things in my life, but privately I thought one thing that I don't know whether it would be good to admit, but it is the truth: I thought, I lost my father. I didn't want to expect my husband to be my father. But at the same time, I had a feeling inside me. Maybe it was my own fault to cling to my father so much, since everything that I had needed my father provided, and it had become an artificial situation. I, then, realized a positive effect of his death, that I had to live the reality of my life using only what my husband had, for I was certain that nothing would come from his parents, not a thing.

The psychic interdependence of the conjugal pair is part of the legal definition of Brazilian marriage. According to Pereira's interpretation of the Brazilian Civil Code, ideally, "marriage is the union of two persons of different sex, resulting in a permanent psycho-physical integration" (1972:36). But, in reality, marriage roles are very segmented and therefore the psychic integration of the individuals with parents, as in the case described above, is much more intense than the integration of the marriage relationship.

Use of Surnames by Married Women.

One indicator of the relationship between spouses, according to Radcliffe-Brown, is the degree of incorporation of the wife into the husband's lineage. Indeed, he emphasized that marriage usually involves some modification or

partial rupture of the relations between the bride and her immediate kin (1950:49). This modification differs depending on the degree of incorporation of the bride into the husband's lineage, a process which takes varying amounts of time, depending on the society. One indicator of incorporation into the lineage is the use of the lineage name by the bride.

Brazilian middle class families are not lineages, but kindreds, kin networks or parentelas. However, the practice of referring to a kin group by a particular surname is found among this class, and such groups often meet other criteria for "corporate group" as defined by Radcliffe-Brown, including ownership of corporate property and/or common residence. Even in these groups, use of the husband's group's name by the wife is not universally done, although it is usual. It is legally a right granted to the wife, which is only taken away from her if she is deemed to be adulterous in a desquite suit (Civil Code, Article 183, VI). However, because her relations with her immediate kin continue to be important to her, other considerations become important to her in surname selection.

A woman has the right at the time of marriage to sign the marriage register using any surname or surnames to which she is entitled by birth or marriage. Some wives, especially professionals, prefer to use the same name they have used all of their lives. Many wives add one or more

of their husband's surnames to their own. The practice of dropping all of one's birth surnames is almost unknown. Some brides do drop surnames at marriage and base their selection on the sound of the new names together, on how close they feel to a particular branch of the family, or on how prestigious a particular name is. One informant reported, "I chose Pinheiro because I think it is a prettier name than Julho. It combines better with my husband's name. My daughter-in-law did the same thing when she got married. She didn't think her father's name sounded very good with Silva so she took her mother's father's name, Castello." In a few cases, where one of the wife's family's names is more prestigious, the husband will adopt that name. One man reported that, "In cases like my father's, he was a newcomer and immigrant and my mother was from a respected local family and was a professora in the school. For this reason, I think, they didn't use his name at all, but only hers."

The pattern of surname use by married women indicates that these women attach importance to maintaining their own identities as part of their natal kin groups. In addition, they may affiliate, by surname use, with branches of their own kin group other than their father's. These findings further support the contention that the husband and wife maintain separate identities through affiliation with extended kin.

Post-Marital Residence

Although a newly married couple is ideally supposed to assume neolocal post-marital residence (and the majority do), many cases of virilocality and uxorilocality were found among the middle class members studied. One informant attributed this to a greater desire for higher education and the resulting lengthening of the economically unproductive years of middle class children. When students marry, they usually become dependent on one or both sets of parents. It is considered more economical and efficient for a young couple to live with parents than for parents to support a neolocal residence for them. As a result, one informant claimed that "it is more common now for young people to have to live after marriage with their parents." The development cycle of domestic groups and the various types of households which are common among middle class Brazilians, including the married child extended residential unit, are discussed in greater detail below in Chapter IV.

Annulment, Divorce, Desquite, and "Remarriage"

The notion that marriage is permanent is strongly associated with the power of the Christian church in medieval Europe. The rise of nation states in Europe brought about the secularization of marriage and the existence of divorce, the means by which to terminate marriage. In Brazil, both religious and civil marriages are considered permanent. Divorce is only recognized for foreigners whose foreign divorces have been approved by the Supreme Federal

Tribunal of Brazil (Federal Constitution, Article 175, No. 1). Brazilian law only permits monogamous marriage and will allow remarriage only to approved holders of foreign divorces, widows and widowers, or persons whose marriages are annulled.

Annulment. Annulment is a process by which a marriage is declared to never have existed. It must be granted within the first two years of marriage and can only be granted on the following grounds: coercion, incompetency, age, kidnapping, and fraud, through concealing low moral repute, existence of a hereditary or contagious illness which would threaten the partner or the children, incurable physical defect or unknown defloration of the wife. If the grounds for annulment on the basis of fraud exist, but one or both partners had good faith (that is, ignorance of the grounds), the marriage will be deemed putative, the common property will be divided and the children are legitimate. The partners may not remarry but are emancipated from the marriage obligations. No examples of annulment or putative marriage were found in the parentelas studied.

Legal Separation. (Desquite) Married persons may obtain a legal separation called a desquite which has all the effects of divorce except it does not restore the single status and therefore remarriage is not legally recognized. There are two types of desquite, the contested or litigious separation and the amicable or friendly separation. The grounds for contested desquite are adultery, attempted suicide, physical abuse, serious offense to the partner's

integrity including use of "outrageous" words or gestures, transmission of a venereal disease, homosexual practices or other acts deemed to be serious offenses by a judge and voluntary, prolonged and unjust desertion (Civil Code Process, Article 142). The grounds for amicable desquite are mutual consent and no motive has to be given.

The institution of desquite has the effect of ending the duty of loyalty and sexual intercourse. The community property of the couple is to be divided equally. The desquite also determines the custody of the children, visitation rights of the parent who does not have custody, provisions to be made for the children's education, and the support payments due the wife. A judge may temporarily agree that the wife may waive the duty of the husband to support her but unless she is found to be guilty of adultery, she can never be deprived of or renounce the right to support. The desquite, like putative marriage, does not entail the right of remarriage, since the persons are already married (Civil Code, Article 183, VI).

Legally separated Brazilians who divorce and remarry in jurisdictions of foreign countries do not obtain thereby legaly marriages in Brazilian law.

The reconciliation of a couple which has obtained a desquite only requires a joint document of mutual consent to be submitted to a judge (Civil Code, Article 323; Civil Code Process Article 646). Even if a desquite is in in effect and custody of children has been awarded to one

parent, the other parent retains and may exercise the parental power; it cannot be transferred or renounced (Law 4121).

It is interesting to see the contrasts between the legal definitions of marriage as indisoluble and the attitudes expressed in the questionnaire survey on the legalization of divorce (see Table V).

TABLE V

Should Divorce Be Legalized?

	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Pro	153	67.1
Con	39	17.1
No Opinion	36	15.8
Total	228	100.0

The vast majority of the respondents expressed the desire to have divorce legalized.

It is interesting to note that cross-tabulations of attitudes on the legalization of divorce with religious affiliation shows that non-practicing Catholics are the most in favor of divorce and that a tiny minority of Protestants are the most against it (see Table VI). Therefore, even though the Catholic Church is strongly opposed to divorce, most middle class Brazilian Catholics surveyed seem to favor it. However, it must be kept in

TABLE VI

Attitudes on Legalization of Divorce
According to Religious Preference

Religion	Yes	No	No Opinion	Row Total
Practicing Catholic	70	25	19	114
Row Percentage	61.4	21.9	16.7	
Column Percentage	45.8	64.1	55.9	
Total Percentage	31.0	11.1	8.4	50.4
Nonpracticing Catholic	66	7	9	82
Row Percentage	80.5	8.5	11.0	
Column Percentage	43.1	17.9	26.5	
Total Percentage	29.2	3.1	4.0	36.3
Practicing Protestant	4	3	2	9
Row Percentage	44.4	33.3	22.2	
Column Percentage	2.6	7.7	5.9	
Total Percentage	1.8	1.3	0.9	4.0
Nonpracticing Protestant	0	1	0	1
Row Percentage	0	100.0	0	
Column Percentage	0	2.6	0	
Total Percentage	0	0.4	0	0.4
Other Religions	9	1	2	12
Row Percentage	75.0	8.3	16.7	
Column Percentage	5.9	2.6	5.9	
Total Percentage	4.0	0.4	0.9	5.3
No Religion	4	2	2	8
Row Percentage	50.0	25.0	25.0	
Column Percentage	2.6	5.1	5.9	
Total Percentage	1.8	0.9	0.9	3.5
Total Respondents	153	39	34	226
Total Percentages	67.7	17.3	15.0	100.0

Raw Chi Square = 17.82042 with 10 Degrees of Freedom
Significance = 0.0581
Cramer's V = 0.19856

Number of Missing Observations = 3

mind that the survey was taken of high school students who were almost all unmarried and that their opinions would probably tend to be less conservative of the institution of marriage than those with vested interests of more time, experience and commitment spent in married life.

The information gathered in interviews, participant-observation and life histories included some interesting information about the alleged causes of desquite, both long term and immediate attitudes toward desquitados, post-desquite behavior, the acceptance of remarriage after desquite and the function of childbearing in such remarriages. Informants gave a number of explanations as reasons why members of their families got desquites. In most cases, one of the partners had arranged other mates or else the couple had experienced a high degree of incompatibility. Other reasons given were conflicting career goals, immaturity, non-support, financial irresponsibility, emotional instability, class conflict, kin interference, and bizarre behavior, including irrational jealousy, violence, alcoholism, excessive gambling, pool playing and wife-beating. Most individual cases of desquite had several of these reasons offered by informants as explanations for the legal action. Attitudes expressed about desquite and divorce were ambivalent. Most middle class persons interviewed were well aware of the law on divorce. One informant summarized her knowledge in this say. "If you marry here, you may not divorce outside. Already divorce was proposed, but the

majority of the members of Congress have not and would not vote for divorce even if the people want it. The church is powerful and does not want anyone to divorce. The middle class wants divorce to be legalized. My niece has talked about not marrying in Brazil in order to have the right to divorce later."

In the desquite cases described to me, almost all of the relatives reacted initially by refusing to accept the desquite as a proper choice by either spouse. This non-acceptance by kin was the same in either the husband's or the wife's kin groups. This finding contrasts with Goode's results for divorced Americans which described much more negative reactions to divorces of female kin than to divorces of male kin (1956:166-167). Brazilian mothers were described as reacting by "crying" or "suffering" because of their child's desquite, whether the child was male or female. Fathers were said to become angry or to threaten to disinherit their children, especially when the break-up was viewed as the fault of their children. Even in cases where wives were being abused, relatives were quoted as desiring the marriages to endure. However, most relatives were described as growing in their acceptance of desquite as time passed.

Other common attitudes about desquites and desquitados meaning persons who have experienced desquite did include differences in treatment of the sexes by their kin. Women who had gone through desquites (called desquitadas) were

criticized for not trying hard enough before the desquite to put up with their husband's foibles and were sanctioned after the desquite for having boy friends. On the other hand, some desquitadas determined to act as if they were single and received advice to make new lives for themselves. Many desquitadas complained of the unwanted advances of men, while others feared the threats of their estranged husbands. Some family members expressed surprise that desquitadas were capable of living independently. Many desquitadas complained that their fathers tried to control their life styles and to prevent them from dating other men. Sometimes family members were surprised when a previously unmarried man or woman agreed to a non-legal "marriage" with a person who had obtained a desquite. Nevertheless, most people interviewed agreed that persons could still be good persons whether or not they were desquitados. However, several cases of desquites were discovered which were hidden from various family members due to embarrassment. People hide desquites because of the shame associated with the event. In a similar manner, the non-legal remarriages which desquitados enter into in special churches established for the purpose, or in foreign embassies, are sometimes viewed as deceptions, as shameful behavior.

Desquite causes changes in the behavior of both spouses. They no longer live together. Men more frequently than women will "remarry" in order to live with a person of the opposite sex. Women who develop careers and professional

activities in response to the need for self-support often brought on by desquite usually maintain an independent household from their parents and other kin and remarry more frequently than non-employed women. Women who are dependent on their families for post-desquite support are often restricted in social activities and, in some cases, prohibited from taking jobs by their parents.

Usually the wife will get custody of any children, but the husband usually retains visitation rights. In the rare cases where the husband gets custody, child care is often provided by his mother or his new mate. Children express feelings of guilt over the separation of their parents which in some cases expressed itself in psychosomatic illnesses. Children of separated marriages sometimes expressed intense jealousy of their new half-siblings, products of remarriages.

Husbands frequently were ordered to pay support for wives and children as well as tuition payments, doctor and dentist bills, and vacation costs. Sometimes the support decrees have no monetary correction (cost of living) clauses, although separation agreements are always open to change. Property owned by the couple at the time of desquite is usually divided equally, including businesses, real estate, automobiles and savings. Extended kin frequently offer to help the couple, offering temporary orpermanent housing. One set of parents gave their daughter, who was desquitada, the legal title to their apartment as a measure of security after they consulted with her siblings (who would have been

entitled to a share of the value in the eventual inheritance). These types of changes in property arrangements as a result of desquite frequently engender much family debate concerning fault and fairness of the new arrangement.

The "remarriage" of desquitados is often done in a ceremonial manner with godparents, liturgical clothing, use of a church building, and attendance of kin. Since these "marriages" are not legally recognized, often contractual agreements concerning ownership of any common property, for example, the house or apartment in which the couple resides, are drawn up. Children born to this type of marriage are deemed legitimate if they are recognized by their fathers. The birth of such children serves to legitimate the marriage in the eyes of the families involved.

This section on marriage has illustrated the various aspects of marriage among middle class Brazilians, especially the interlinkages between extended kin solidarity and ritual behavior, sex roles, sexuality, couple interdependence, female surname use, post-marital residence and the termination of marital rights and duties. In all of these aspects, a strong, enduring dependence on extended kin persists in the urban setting. Indeed, parent-child relationships seem to be as central to family behavior as the conjugal relationship, supporting Arensberg's contention mentioned above.

Parenthood and Child Care

The importance of parent-child relationships demands a careful examination of the reasons people feel that they

need children, of childlessness and its consequences, of ideal family size, and of actual family size, attitudes toward children, legitimacy, and adoption.

The Need for Children and the Consequences of Childlessness

The Civil Code establishes that procreation of children is desirable but not legally necessary to constitute a marriage (Article 183). Parents are required by the Civil Code to support their children in giving them food, clothing, medicines and shelter. In addition, they are required to be in their company and to guard them from harm, although it is permissible to send children away to school. The religious marriage service includes several references to the bearing and rearing of children. These statements contain the sentiment that children should be and will be born to the couple. The couple says to each other and to the congregation "That this love, so sanctified and fortified, be the environment in which we greet the children who will be born." The family members affirm that "Your children, the fruit of your love, will bring joy to your table."

The children are said to give special meaning to a marriage relationship. One informant, in discussing the great impact of marriage upon his life referred to his wife as "this exceptional girl . . . my wife, and the mother of our daughter Alessandra . . . ." This idea has already been mentioned with respect to the social legitimation of remarriages.

Children are, of course, a source of security to

their parents in old age, providing support (shelter, food, clothing, care and companionship). The attitudes that a couple would want to be voluntarily childless are unknown. The only case showing any indication of anti-child attitudes was that of a couple who separated because the wife decided she didn't want anything to do with married life including her child who was then taken by the paternal grandparents. Childlessness is assumed to be involuntary, due to physiological difficulties. The law recognizes that the marriages of childless couples are just as legal, because procreation is viewed as an optional function of marriage.

Children serve as a purpose in life for wives who have no other occupation besides motherhood. Women who have marital difficulties often invest a good deal of emctional involvement in their children. Indeed, mothers are often known to take sides with their children against the father in disputes. One mother angrily described her husband's refusal to allow her daughter to attend the high school of her choice because, as he said, it wasn't religious. Another mother complained of a long term dispute between her husband and their daughter about politics, her adolescent social life and her choice of spouse. She felt her husband was "quadrado" (square, old fashioned) and was unreasonable in his expectations on his daughter's behavior. When one young man asked his father for a loan and it was refused, the mother became incensed and arranged the loan from her brother.

Husbands sometimes think that child rearing is a good activity to keep women occupied and out of trouble. One man told me, "I think we might have a new baby by then. My daughter is four and she's getting spoiled by being the only child. My wife is getting spoiled, too, by having only one child. She's tense much of the time and I think having another baby would relax her, fill up her time."

Ideal and Actual Sibling Group Size

The size of sibling group seems to be dropping in the urban setting. On the questionnaire survey, a comparison of father's, mother's and own sibling group size shows a significant decrease in mean.

TABLE VII

Comparison of Parents, Own and Ideal Mean Sibling Group Size

Group	Mean	Standard Deviation
Father's Sibling Group	7.355	3.088
Mother's Sibling Group	7.521	3.450
Own Sibling Group	5.716	2.721
Ideal Sibling Group	3.317	1.214

Ideal sibling group size is even lower than own sibling group size, showing a possible trend toward much smaller domestic units in the future.

Decline in sibling group size, according to Garigue's hypothesis (1956), should be correlated with decline in extended family contacts. The questionnare data collected

do not contain such comparative information. However, data do indicate that extended family contacts continue to be frequent among the urban middle class of Belo Horizonte (63.9% [144 out of 229] indicating once a week or more frequent contact) and that values and attitudes about the merit of such contact are widely held (see Table VIII and Table II, above, concerning the importance of the familia, according to respondents).

TABLE VIII

Attitudes about the Merit of Family Aid

	Number	Relative Frequency (%)
Family Help is Good	196	86.0
Family Help is Bad	14	6.1
I am Indifferent	18	7.9
	228	100.0

Attitudes toward Children

The attitudes that parents expressed in interviews and life histories about their own children or about children in general included many statements about the desire and need to control children and no statements about affect (or love) of children or the lack of such affect (or love). Grandparents were more frequently described as having affectionate preferences or favorites among children but parents are expected to be disciplinarians. One woman was described

as "very strict with her daughters. They had to hide their boy friends from her." A thirty-year-old man described what he admired about his parents in this way:

> My mother likes to fuss at us when she is a little annoyed and I even think it is attractive when she is annoyed and begins to fuss, as all mothers fuss at their children and they loosen up. I believe that we children deserve a dressing down from time to time. When my father doesn't like something, he scratches his back. I mean that these two individuals, I think are exceptional in the sense that, at least as I know them, they were never aggressive or showed any indelicacy in either words or attitudes.

As is evident from this example, although control and superordination is a main concern, it is not considered acceptable to beat or yell at a child. A child is a pleasure to parents if, as one mother put it, they don't cause problems, worries or "work" for their parents.*

Women who had had difficult pregancies feared childbirth and resented the religious ban on birth control. An older woman well past childbearing years said, "I was very sick when I was pregnant. If there had been birth control I would have used it. I lost several children and nearly died myself. I am very religious, but that was an absurd situation."

Some women saw childbearing as a burden forced upon them to delay their emancipation. "I was only able to get power through age," one woman said. "It is logical that I could have done much more than I did, but I spent

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*dar trabalho, to worry, literally, to cause work.

a great part of my life without being able to do it, only rearing children." On the other hand, many women see their roles as allowing their children to succeed. One mother put it this way: "I don't know how to be ambitious. The single thing that I would very much like is that all of my mistakes, everything that I wanted to do well and came out wrong, would revert in a positive way on my children." Several mothers, when asked to relate their life histories would talk more about their children than themselves. Some complained that their children passed them by in education and sophistication and wished for more education to accompany their children's development and to retain their respect.

The Legal Parent-Child Relationships

The relationship between parent and child can be established in three ways under Brazilian law: by birth to a married woman and her husband, by an act of legitimation by the father and by adoption. Brazilian law states that if the children are conceived before marriage they are nonetheless as legitimate as children conceived after the marriage.

Adoption. Adoptive legitimation, is a recent law in Brazil (No. 4655, July 2, 1965), and can establish the relationship between a child and adoptive parents between birth and the seventh birthday if the natural parents are unknown or give consent, if the child was abandoned, if the child is an orphan unclaimed by any

relative, or if the child is only recognized by the mother who is unable to bring him/her up. The adoptive parents must be childless for at least five years and one of them must be over 30 years of age. If sterility of one of the mates has been demonstrated, the five-year waiting period is waived. The child must live with the couple for a trial period of three years. Widows or widowers over 35 years of age may also qualify as adoptive parents. Adoptive legitimation is considered irrevocable and causes the end to the child's former ties of filiation. Kinship ties established extend to the adoptive parents and their legitimate children if they agree to it. The legal prohibition of incest exists with adoptive relationships. The adoptive child has the right to the surnames of the parents. The adoptive parents obtain the parental power over the child and he/she obtains the right of support. Adoptive children have equal inheritance rights to children born before the adoption. However, these rights are reduced to half of the portion due a legitimate child if a child is born to the adoptive parents after the adoption. Only several cases of actual legal adoption were found in the parentelas studied. Informally, however, it was common for orphans or illegitimate children to be cared for without benefit of legal adoption by extended kin, especially aunts, uncles and grandparents. A more detailed description of these practices is found in Chapter IV in the discussion of the collateral child extended residential unit and the grandchild

extended residential unit. Several cases of married older siblings rearing younger orphaned siblings were also found.

Rights and Duties

Birth, adoption and legitimation create the legal parent relationship which includes the following attributes from the 1964 Civil Code, Articles 379-395.

1. The children have the right to the paternal name.
2. The father must bring up and educate his children, choosing their schools and giving them moral, spiritual and professional orientation.
3. The father must have his children in his company and under his guard.
4. The parents must consent to the marriage of minor children. In disagreements between them, the father's will prevails.
5. The father represents the child until age 16 and gives assistance thereafter.
6. The paternal power is totally transferred to the mother at the father's death.
7. The father has legal right to the child and may claim the child from anyone who has withheld him or her illegally.
8. The child owes her/his parents obedience, respect and services.
9. The parents have usufruct of children's goods during their minority.

The parental power can be lost if evidence is presented to the judge of the minors court that the parent has excessively punished the child, abandoned the child, or practiced acts contrary to moral and good customs. In addition, the parent can lose the parental power by being convicted of a crime against the security or honesty of the

family, or of the crime of complicity in a crime of the child (Minors' Code).

All of the interactions of parents and children are not covered by the legal code. I will now examine the informal role relationship between parents and children.

Parent-Daughter Interactions

According to informants, the parent-daughter relationship is experiencing the most rapid change among the middle class of Belo Horizonte. The characterization of the traditional pattern of rearing daughters include emphasis on their beauty, sociability, and passivity. Girls were supposed to be quiet, not yell, talk or laugh loudly. The ideal female child was the menina limpinha, the clean little girl, who never gets her clothes dirty or gets into trouble. She was expected to play at marriage in childhood and select a spouse in adolescence. Parents policed daughters' behavior very carefully and instilled in them the notion of betrayal if they tried to leave their parents. Strong emotional attachments were discouraged between daughters and their boyfriends because it was considered dangerous to the family's reputation. A twenty-year-old woman was considered a spinster by some informants. Although some parents continue to think along these lines, they are increasingly concerned about stability of personality development, self-respect as a person and the provision of a healthy and relatively free environment for their daughters to develop in. The philosophy of parenthood is one of attempting to

set standards without acting in an authoritarian way. One informant said, "The super-mother is not a good mother. She doesn't let her children acquire independence." Another, commenting on attempts to force children to conform to parental expectations, said, "If you squeeze hard, they'll get out between your fingers." Another parent commented that the more parents push, the more they lose. Parents try to provide role models without being too dydactic. Parents do spy on daughters and their boyfriends out of fear of pregnancy. For the same reason, long namoros (periods of going steady) and engagements are discouraged. The parents would rather have a premature marriage than the shame of an out-of-wedlock pregnancy.

Most parents interviewed gave their children advice about career goals and marriage plans. One woman told her daughters her perspective on how to have a successful marriage.

> It is very important that in a life of two in a marriage, each one gives in a little, that there be a certain understanding and compassion, but what happened previously was that only the woman would give in, only the woman would try to become adjusted to married life, and that, in detriment to her personal satisfaction, to her social life, to her professional life, because also, at the time, it was difficult to reconcile the two things.

Parents at times oppose their daughter's marriage plans, but usually they try to give general counsel and advice. Each boy friend, namorado, is treated as if he might be a potential husband. It is not rare for such boy friends to

begin to refer to their girl friend's parents by the terms for parents-in-law: sogro and sogra. Dating, therefore, is never casual. A girl does not invite a boy to her home unless she is seriously considering marriage. Becoming namorados (establishing a boy friend-girl friend relationship) is an important step and is thought of as an event like an engagement. Parents are not afraid to let their feelings be known early in a relationship and it is probably for this reason that conflict over spouse selection is relatively rare, while conflict over boy friend selection is common. When the girl's parents object, the boy's parents sometimes get insulted. Often objections to a boy friend are situational rather than personal. A wife described the intense discussions which took place when she became her future husband's namorada (girl friend).

> When Jose became my boy friend I talked and yelled at my parents. My brother had a fight with Jose because my parents were opposed to him. The reasons were the following. We were the same age. I was almost finishing normal school and for most girls that is all. He was beginning to study at the university and I was finished. My parents thought that it would be too long a period of namoro and that he would leave me when he entered another group of friends. Jose almost hit my brother (in the fight) and then he stopped. After a while, my mother began to come around. I confronted her and fought for my rights.

The parents objected because the boy was the wrong age, because he was entering a long period of study and because the romance would have to last a number of years. They did not object to his social class background,

occupational aspirations, religious preference, personality traits or treatment of their daughter. If those qualities had been lacking, the parents probably would never have acquiesed.

In another case, the parents objected because their daughter was throwing herself (dar de cima) at a boy who wanted to be friends but did not intend to marry her. Her cousin commented, "She should be discreet in going after him, but she cries and yells at home and fights with everyone. Her father gets angry, her mother counsels. She threatens to leave home and acts aggressive and violent."

Most girls want to marry and most parents desire marriage for their daughters. In addition, many also have decided that career preparation is also an important concern for daughters. One mother said about her three daughters, "They are children who like each other's company and know how to take care of themselves well and behave well in any situation. These social skills are very important for their future lives since they must confront future college entrance examinations and their future professional lives. Their successes which will depend exclusively on them, even if they are prepared for what they must face." On the other hand, the counseling of daughters about career and educational aspirations is usually given in a very general tone. Females don't admit to having ambitions for themselves. Parents have definite opinions about the appropriateness of certain careers. One mother said that she wouldn't like certain jobs

for her daughter including TV actress, model, journalist (reporter) and any jobs which require night work. She said she would prefer that her daughters be teachers, seamstresses or any type of work which can be done at home. Another mother said that she felt that both interpersonal relationships and professional identity were important but that professional identity was more important.

> I believe that it would be much better for them if they could be fulfilled in both areas: professionally and affectively, and that would be a type of fulfillment which is more complete. Now, to be fulfilled in only one of the two sectors, I would think it would be better if they are professionally fulfilled because they would be in that case more independent and it is a condition which is enough and perhaps they would then get a better personal adjustment.

Middle class parents are concerned about their daughters preparing for and having careers but seem to put less pressure on them to choose competitive areas and extremely prestigious occupations than they do on sons. Fathers, as mentioned above, seemed to be more concerned with policing their daughters and keeping them from situations where sexual temptations might arise, than with finding them the best schools and the best jobs. Mothers tended to think that the fathers were excessive in their attempts to control their daughters' career development for reasons of fear of moral compromise. The following anecdote shows a little of the pattern of interaction which arose from this conflict between father and daughter, as told by the mother.

> Claudia went to a religious ginásio, staffed by nuns. When she was entering the last year, she chose her own school and finished there. She wanted to enter the scientific colégio curriculum, and so she entered into competition for the experimental colégio at the University, a lay, coed school. Her father prohibited her attendance. They argued and she cried and she was afraid to cross him and do it anyway. She won first place in the competition, but she obeyed her father and didn't go. Then, she attended another religious school, leaving the house crying each morning and coming home each night crying. Then, some people from the University school came to talk to us, because they were incredulous that she won first place and then didn't go. With this, her father relented and she went, but even today, years later, she holds a grudge against her father and they do not get along.

The antipathy between fathers and adolescent daughters among this class was discovered in many such examples.

Parent-Son Interactions

In order to understand the functioning of the orienting family, the reciprocal roles of parents must be analyzed with respect to childhood and adolescent behavior, courtship and spouse selection and career and educational counseling.

In childhood, sons are expected to achieve higher levels of accomplishment and to control their emotions better than daughters, an expectation discussed in greater detail above. As mentioned, male children are desired more than female children, especially by male adults. In comparison with daughters, sons are thought to require less work in rearing and policing their behavior. Parents expect more of sons, but they are also freer with them.

In adolescence, the types of crises which arise between

parents and daughters are not found in relations between parents and sons. The only real crises discovered during the course of research that affected the relationships between sons and parents were illnesses. Parents rarely put restrictions on the school selection of sons. Sons do have disputes with their parents about having cars and going to bars, restaurants and movies. Sons complain about the lack of liberty of their girl friends. Although parents see sons as lazy, they are more willing to pay for a son's educational costs than a daughter's, explaining that education for a daughter is wasted if she marries. Parents, especially fathers, are concerned about their son's style of living and habits; they attempt to orient them morally and educationally, as the Civil Code charges them. For example, one son described the kinds of counsel and advice his father gave him in the following manner.

> At times, when unconsciously I was wrong, he is able to demonstrate that to me. He avoids any commentary and later I can see that his concern is to see his son in a good situation and to see his son with good habits and living well. As for advice, he gives us more than advice of a moral order; he was always concerned with educating his children well . . . so he gives us advice of all types and not only advice but also aid, although the best aid is advice.

The relationship between father and son is definitely one of power and submission, but the hostility and sense of imminent danger to the family name associated with father-daughter relations is absent. The above description indicates a comraderie and acceptance of common feelings and

understandings which is absent from father-daughter relationships.

The developmental process of courtships, namoro, engagement and marriage involves some interaction between sons and their parents, although less intensely in part than parents have with daughters. Boys are less restricted in having the freedom to go out and meet girls in public places, at parties and other locations outside of the home or church. However, the restrictions on girls affect the boys as well. Once they find a girl and begin a namoro, a serious relationship which is a kind of trial engagement, they are also influenced by the parental espionage, the notions of honor of the family and the attitudes about the ideal length of such a relationship and the relative age of the couple, discussed above for daughters. Parents of sons are concerned that their future daughter-in-law be a "good girl." In one case a young man married an American girl with whom he had lived for two years under the strong protest of his family who felt that she was therefore not a good girl.

Racial and class endogamy is encouraged by parents. Racial prejudice is said to be subtle, but I heard many jokes made to couples whose physical characteristics were varied self-conscious. When an olive skinned black haired man married a fair skinned, blue-eyed blond, his own mother made a comment about the "fly in the milk." Wealthy parents of sons object to marriage with someone of a less monied family. Engagements, like namoros, are ideally short (a year or less),

but longer engagements are becoming more necessary as young people pursue higher education. Notions of romantic love seem to influence young men as strongly as young women. One man described how he felt shen he decided to get married. "The fact of my having met this girl caused a profound modification in all my existence." His career plans and involvement with his family were all changed by his involvement with his future wife. The family of a young man is usually happy when he gets married because it is viewed as a stabilizing event in the life of a man which makes him responsible and serious (sério), a rite of incorporation into adulthood. Parents feel ambivalence in their sons' marriages, something between a sense of loss and a sense of relief. This ambivalence sometimes engenders expressions of a sense of guilt.

Middle class parents are also involved in their sons' educational and career decision making. Studies are emphasized for sons more intensely than for daughters. In some cases, especially where the father is a businessman, the son is placed in a situation of conflict between his duties to his father's business and his own studies. But, in general, middle class parents are quite supportive of their sons' studies. Sons are encouraged to go to the best schools to which they are accepted. Parents usually try to influence their sons' career selection, channeling them into professions (medicine, engineering or law) and discouraging them when they want to pursue other types of vocations (i.e., the priesthood, art). Sons discuss career plans with their

fathers and often rely on fathers' advice in making choices. One father told his son when his son expressed a doubt about continuing with the objective of becoming a physician:

> Look, João, I always noticed that you don't have the tendency to be a doctor. Perhaps you would be a good lawyer . . . because you have a certain verbal fluency, you like to talk, and you like to make friends. Medicine is very limited . . . you are a slave to it. Medicine really is a priesthood, and you will spend the rest of your life involved with other peoples' unhappiness, involved with sickness, a world full of miseries. I believe that it would not be really what I want for you.

Parents are not afraid to indicate preferences for their sons and sons do not tend to overreact to such suggestions, but welcome them.

Parenthood and Child Care: Summary

This discussion of parenthood and child care has presented the notions of need for children, the rights and duties of parents and children, the ways in which parents acquire children and the contrasting interaction patterns of parent-daughter and parent-son relationships. The patterns of dominance and subordination illustrate what Radcliffe-Brown called the "relation of social inequality between proximate generations" (1950:27). The strength and endurance of this relationship is the source of the interdependence of family as young people mature and establish other residential units.

Inter-Sibling Relationships

The asymmetrical parent-child relationship implies the relative equality of the siblings, except when mitigated by sex differentiation, illustrating what Radcliffe-Brown described as the principle of the "unity of the sibling group" (1950:25). Inter-sibling jealousies occur because of perceptions of unequal treatment, as in the case of the children whose parents got a desquite. When the father remarried and had a new son, the other children felt that they were being deprived of equal access to their father by the baby. In another case, a woman described how her attractive older sister had always been the best behaved, receiving unequalled praise from the parents.

Nevertheless, siblings tend to express joint family pride and declare that they are good friends. In adolescence, siblings of the same sex often attend schools together and become close confidants, sometimes getting into trouble together. As adults this solidarity is sometimes expressed in the offer of joint living arrangements, especially to the unmarried sibling. Sometimes, when antagonisms grow between parents and daughters, an older married sibling will invite the girl to spend some time living away from the parental home, serving as an escape valve for family tensions.

Conclusions

The nuclear family of parents and children is not an isolated residential group in Brazilian middle class culture.

However, the relationships between parents and children and among siblings are important and continuing bonds which endure well into adulthood. The reciprocal orienting relationship described in this set of interactions creates a group with shared beliefs and solidarity confirmed by a bond of trust and affection. Children learn dependency on others and establish their central values in these relationships including definitions of appropriate and inappropriate behavior. Children are provided with support, care, educational opportunities and identity as a part of a larger kinship network. Children also learn the value of family life and companionship. Parents receive companionship, affection, interaction and the promise of old age security. The nuclear family, although an important analytical concept, is incomplete as a unit for the analysis of urban Brazilian middle class kinship patterns because of the complexity of the network of interactions and the patterns of residential living.

CHAPTER IV

THE RESIDENTIAL UNIT AND PATTERNS OF RESIDENTIAL CLUSTERING

This chapter deals with the major varieties of residential units found among the kinship groups studied and examines why they occur in the urban setting. Residential unit, as used in this study, refers to a household of individuals who share common facilities. As mentioned in the previous chapter, these types of residential units tend to occur in the sequence of a developmental cycle within a person's lifetime. This chapter examines that sequence and compares the various types of residential units with respect to frequency of occurrence, duration within Ego's lifetime, gender of the extended parties, advantages and disadvantages of the residential arrangement with rights and obligations of the co-residents, stratification among the residents, and the sources of tensions and their resolutions. Following this discussion, three types of residential clustering which occur among the units studied are analyzed: apartment buildings, houses on the same street and houses in the same neighborhood. This chapter discusses which kin types tend to cluster in which ways, what types of interactions tend to occur among clustered relatives, not occurring with relatives outside of such clusters, and how comparable such clusters are to co-resident kinship groups found in simple societies.

Proximity and Its Benefits

Attitudes and values expressed by informants concerning the advantages of living near ones kin tended to conform with behavior exhibited by them. Most middle-class Brazilians find it beneficial, although sometimes annoying, to live near kin of certain types. Women tended to prefer living near consanguineal kin rather than affinal, but preferred affines to non-relatives. Those whose occupations (or spouse's occupations) forced them to travel to places where they had no kin, described such experiences bitterly. One woman, brought up in the metropolis, went to live in a small town in the interior of Minas Gerais because of her husband's job. She attributed the decline of her physical and emotional health to the exile. "Really, it was three and a half years, which was a very heavy period for me and which weighed negatively." Another, commenting on a cousin who had accepted a scholarship to study in the United States said, "I could never do what he is doing. I would worry about my parents too much. They are getting old."

The general benefits of proximity mentioned by informants included the aforementioned aid in maintaining health (nursing and medical attention), emotional support (interaction, companionship and friendship) and ability to execute responsibilities for the aging. In addition, informants mentioned the need to be near family members at times of grave crises and deaths (to avoid accusations of not caring and to facilitate the just administration of estates),

having relatives available for ceremonial events, the more efficient sharing of services (i.e., maids, service personnel), ensuring appropriate playmates (cousins) for children, getting last minute help through continuing and unrefutable reciprocal bonds, easing of financial and household management problems for newlyweds, informality and ease of child care arrangements, greater facility in savings with larger household membership to share costs, humane care for the elderly, the economic advantage of a common real estate venture, minimizing communication and transportation difficulties due to many common activities of relatives, enforcing accepted standards of behavior on members of the family and the intuitive and continual knowledge of the needs of fellow members.

The Core Residential Unit

By describing the major types of residential units, the adaptive value of household formations becomes clearer. Among the Brazilian middle class, a household is never formed by one person. Usually, the minimal household is a married couple and a servant. The makeup of this household is the same as the core of other households. This type of household exists for a year or two just after the marriage and often reappears in late middle age when children have formed their own households. Almost all the people I talked to had lived in this type of household for several years of their lives, but only several were actually living in such arrangements at the time of the study. However, most of the other types

of household units also contained servants. Hiring servants to live in the household is viewed as a somewhat burdensome necessity by women with children and by career women. The inefficient organization of kitchens and laundry areas, the use of inexpensive, porous materials for floors, counter tops and walls which require time-consuming care, the high cost of domestic appliances and electric energy, the lack of professional child care arrangements, the short school days, the complexity of shopping for foods in inexpensive markets and stores contrasted with the greater expense of using stores which provide some convenience foods and packaging are conditions which complicate the domestic tasks of food preparation, cleaning and child care, and result in the need for domestic help. The disadvantages of having domestic servants include the irritation of personal conflicts, the dependence of the family on the whims of the servants and the dependence of the servant on the family for all kinds of help.

The duties of domestic servants vary depending on the job they are hired to do. Middle class families often have a full-time live-in maid of all work who cooks and cleans, washes the car, babysits, shops and packs suitcases, among other duties. Often a family which has a maid of all work also will have a laundress who comes to the home once a week to wash clothes. Another type of maid is the <u>ama</u> or <u>babá</u>, the nurse-maid for the children. Full-time cooks, weekly cleaning women and housemaids who do general light cleaning

(arrumadeiras) are also sometimes employed by middle class families. The types and specializations of the domestic servants in a particular household depend on the stage in the domestic cycle in which the residential unit is found. A young childless newlywed couple might only have a laundress and a cleaning woman, but as soon as they have a child, they will usually hire a maid of all work or a babá but usually not both. A couple with several children will usually have a maid of all work or a cook and a laundress and cleaning woman. This type of household arrangement is maintained when widowed parents or married children are added. When all the children are established in homes of their own, the old couple usually still has a maid of all work to take care of them.

The type of relationship which exists between employers and domestic servants is not purely that of employer-employee, but has many of the characteristics of the patron-client relationship. Domestic servants expect to be well fed and to have their medical needs attended to, often at the expense and inconvenience of the employer. Full-time maids receive quarters, a tiny, private room usually adjacent to the kitchen, and a small bathroom. Babás often sleep in the same room with the children when they are small. Employers are expected to serve as godparents for children of domestic servants, and thus, acquire obligations for gift giving toward the godchildren. (If the domestic servants have children, however, they are not allowed to bring them to

the residence of the employer, except on very special occasions, such as Christmas.) Full-time domestic servants usually leave their children in the care of another relative. Employers prefer unmarried domestic servants, and marriage is a sufficient cause for firing or resignation. Full-time live-in servants have the right to a half day off per week, usually Sunday afternoon. Payment does not vary greatly depending on age, experience or reliability. A full-time, live-in maid of all work, babá or cook earns between Cr $100 and Cr $120 per month (US $16.67-20.00). A laundress earns Cr $10.00 per day (US $1.67) for one week's laundry, usually from 4 to 6 hours of work. A good cleaning woman earns Cr $15.00 per day (US $2.50) for a 6 to 7 hour day. An arrumadeira earns between Cr $90 and Cr $100 per month (US $15-16.67).*

The dona da casa (home maker) has the rather complicated job of hiring, firing, instructing and overseeing the duties of the servant or servants in her employ, as well as having to fill in for them when they are sick, or injured or when they quit. The servants are usually addressed by their first names, while the employer and her husband are addressed by the respectful titles of Dona plus first name for the woman and "o seu" plus the first name for the men.

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*During the research period, the exchange rate fluctuated between 5.8 and 6.1 cruzeiros to the dollar. The rate used here is 6. The period in question was June, 1972 to July, 1973.

In addition, servants are expected to employ the formal "you" (o senhor and a senhora) when addressing the employers, while the employers usually use the less formal "you" (você). The formal form of "you" is reciprocally used by both employer and servant in the case of an older, respected, married servant who has been employed for many years.

Tensions often arise in households with domestic servants due to the differences in values between members of different classes, the cost of support of the servant, the need to control and predict the behavior of the servant for planning household activities, and personal conflicts. Rigid employers with little tolerance for behavioral differences seem to have a high turnover in domestic servants.

The Widow-Spinster Extended Residential Unit

A second type of residential unit is the household of a couple with their children and servants which adds a widowed parent, usually the mother of the wife, a spinster aunt, usually a sister of the wife, father or bachelor brother of one of the spouses. In the parentelas studied, the following arrangements were found which fit into this general pattern of residential unit: couple with children plus wife's sister (spinster); man with children plus sister (spinster); couple with children plus husband's mother (widow); aging mother (widow) plus daughter (spinster); couple with children plus husband's sister (widow); woman

with children plus widowed mother; couple with children plus wife's mother (widow); couple with children plus husband's father (widower) and his children; couple with wife's sister (spinster); couple with husband's brother (bachelor); woman (widow) plus granddaughter (spinster). One informant reported that often, "when the mothers become widows, they go to live with their children: more with daughters than with sons." She then gave a number of examples of this practice from her own kinship group, although she did cite a rare case of a widow living alone. Her assertion that the pattern of widows living with their married daughters was more frequently born out by the analysis of the interviews, life histories and participant-observation data. Another informant characterized this practice as care for the aged rather than care for widows, which seems to be supported by the arrangements for spinsters, bachelors and widowers as well. However, she pointed out that "it is quite common for widows and widowers to live with their married children, but less common for aged couples of parents to live with their married children, although it sometimes occurs." This difference may be due to the fact that women tend to outlive their husbands since men usually marry women several years younger than themselves, which, coupled with the longer lifespan for women means many fewer men are widowed and almost all women end up being widowed.

One informant asserted that the practice of widowed parents living with their children was often a source of economic assistance to the child's household since they "usually give some financial aid to the child to help support themselves." One example given to illustrate this point was the story of a woman who moved in with her daughter after her daughter's desquite. The alimony from the separated husband was insufficient to support the wife and her three daughters. Even the wife's salary was not enough to make up the difference. So her mother rented her own apartment out to a tenant and moved in with the daughter and her children, using the rental income and her pensions to supplement the household budget. The view that the extended party was an economic help to the household budget was found in residential units containing spinsters. An informant reported, "My aunt Helena helps with the household expenses. She works for the government and in her spare time she is a seamstress." She also participated in other domestic duties, such as cooking and child care.

There is no doubt, however, that the assistance is mutual. These women usually act as babysitters to their grandchildren or nieces and nephews, especially when the mothers of the children work outside the home. The colégio survey showed that when mothers worked outside the home, the degree of extended family contact greatly increased. Of those respondents whose mothers worked outside the home (n = 47), seventy-six percent (n = 36) indicated weekly

or more frequent contact with extended kin, while of those whose mothers do not work outside the home (n = 179), only sixty-one percent (n = 110) indicated that frequency of contact. The reason for this difference may be the fact that working women have to rely on extended kin for child care, and frequently, such care is provided by a widowed parent or other relative living in the household. Other data indicated that widowers with small children also make similar arrangements for child care in return for housing and other benefits. For example, one informant told of his widowed uncle whose half-sister lived with him and his six children and took care of the house. The informant asserted that if the half-sister were ever to get married, the uncle would be obliged to pay for her trousseau and wedding expenses.

It is important to recognize that the household is still perceived of as belonging to a couple, and under the control of the wife, the dona da casa. The additional members are described as "living with" the core unit of the couple and their children and servants. The basic decision-making power still rests with the head of the household. In other words, the decision of the widow, widower, bachelor or spinster to reside with a married child or sibling results in a partial loss of autonomy. In cases where these coresident kin are contributing substantially to the household income, they retain the right to make suggestions and contributions to household decisions. This right, however, often creates

animosity within the household because of conflicts of wills. As a result, such old people are described as "difficult" and "opinionated."

One informant illustrated this phenomenon in her description of the case of an old woman who lived with her daughter, son-in-law, and their children. "Vovozinha* has been creating a lot of problems there. No one has patience with her." However, in many cases, these old people are the source of much needed wisdom for family decision making. This same woman, a very traditional, conservative and religious person, insisted that her granddaughter, who conceived and bore a child out of wedlock, not be expelled from the family home because the old woman felt that such treatment would add to the problem and not solve it.

As in the case of the servant-extended residential unit, this type of residential unit develops tensions associated with the complexity and heirarchical arrangements within the household. However, the services offered by these old people and their companionship in the home are considered sufficient benefits to outweigh the disadvantages. The child care they render is thought to be more educated and affectionate than that of servants. Servants do participate in child rearing activities, but their role is perceived to be menial, especially in households which have these kinspeople as residents. Grandmothers and aunts are viewed as being able to teach crafts and religious values to children.

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*Nickname meaning "little grandmother."

Husbands often view the addition of an older woman to the household as insurance that their wives will not be lonely and seek outside companionship.

The Married Child Extended Residential Unit

A third type of residential unit is the household which adds a married child and spouse to the couple and their servants. Usually, this arrangement is quite fragile since it normally occurs soon after the marriage of the young couple and lasts only for the period they have financial need, as short as a couple of months or until the first child is born. With the advent of birth control, this period sometimes lasts a number of years, such as in the case of longest duration found in the study, where a couple lived with the husband's parents for four years after marriage. The ideal post-marital residence pattern advocated by Brazilian members of the middle class is neolocality, epitomized by the saying, "He/she who marries, wants a home."* But one informant said, "It is becoming more common for children to have to live with their parents for a while after marriage." Many parents encourage their children to live with them when they are first married and have few financial resources accumulated. In addition, it is a way of allowing their children to marry and continue their university education.

The most negative sentiments expressed about married children living with parents was by an informant who was desquitada. Her parents wanted her to live at home (with

*"Quem se casa, quer casa." (A play on words in Portuguese.)

her three children), but she wanted to maintain her independence. There is also a lot of negative feeling about a couple living with the husband's parents, although a number of cases of this pattern were found. A superstition states that when two girls meet, they always kiss twice, once on each cheek, in greeting, and once again, "so that you won't have to live with your mother-in-law."* However, it was much more common to hear parents wishing for their children to live with them and making plans to allow for it. One middle aged couple bought a new apartment with three large bedrooms, justifying it in terms of the fact that when their son, a medical doctor, returned from schooling in Canada with his wife, that it would be an appropriate type of residence for a man of his position. The married child usually avoids the arrangement of having to live with his or her parents, but most examples of married child extended residential units were explained as products of economic necessity and convenience. The parental couple usually enjoys the companionship and submissiveness of the younger couple, but there is resentment on the part of the young couple at the loss of the expected autonomy associated with marriage. However, the benefits, again, seem to outweigh the disadvantages, even though some tensions are produced by these living arrangements.

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*Para não morar com a sogra.

The Collateral Child Extended Residential Unit

A fourth type of residential unit is the household which adds a child who is a niece, nephew or cousin to either the husband or wife. The duration of this arrangement varies greatly depending on the reason for its occurrence in the first place. Such collateral children become attached to households when their parents separate, die, become ill, or are otherwise rendered incapable of supporting them. These arrangements also arise when a related child from a rural area or small town is enrolled in a metropolitan school or university. Sometimes rural relatives will send children for short vacations in the city. In other cases, when young relatives from rural areas or small towns get jobs in Belo Horizonte, their first home is usually with an aunt or uncle who live there. In the first case, the duration of the stay is directly linked to the duration of the misfortune of that occurred to the parent or parents. If the parent is ill, unemployed or underemployed, the child may return to them as soon as better conditions return. In the cases of marital breakdown, legal custody is usually awarded to the mother, but women usually have less financial resources and earning power with which to support their households. This condition also affects widows and wives of invalids who find it difficult to support their families. Child support payments from separated fathers are often discontinued, and enforcement of such payments even under court order is difficult because

of the slow workings of courts and the lack of clear enforcement procedures. If the mothers, then, are destitute, often other members of their families offer to care for one or more of the children. Initially, this care is temporary, but sometimes it becomes permanent. One informant reported the following case:

> I kept my sister's children a long time, four years, because she entered a difficult phase in her life. She lived in São Paulo and still lives there. Her husband . . . had war neuroses, contracted T.B. and finally died. She got a job which meant she worked from 6 A.M. to 8 P.M. and still couldn't afford to keep her children. I used to take them to visit her in Sao Paulo during their vacations because she couldn't afford to come here. I finally took the youngest one, a three month old infant, to my childless brother and his wife. My sister was able to take the three older children back after four years, but my brother and his wife wouldn't give up the fourth child. She still lives with them and she is now 10 years old.

When fathers get custody, even though they can afford the financial cost of the household, often they are unable to manage the complexities of running a household with children unless they call upon kin. Sometimes, they turn their children over to their parents or siblings for a period, or they invite some relative to live with them and take care of the children.

In the case of school attendance in the metropolis, the life style of boarding schools in Brazil was notoriously rigorous, and parents knew their children would receive much affection and better care from relatives. Also some of the best schools in Belo Horizonte have no boarding

facilities and take only day students. The stay of the children with extended kin in these cases would last for the duration of enrollment, although the child usually spent the two major breaks in the school year, July (winter vacation) and December-January (summer vacation) with her or his parents. Sometimes, the student would come for a short irtensive course of study in preparation for university entrance exams, hoping to stay for a full course of study if success was achieved. Those relatives more frequently male than female who come for employment usually limit their stay until they marry or rent their own apartment. In the circumstances where they are living in a city far from home, young men will sometimes rent apartments for themselves, but it is extremely unusual for a young woman to do so.

This arrangement is advantageous to the child who receives support, care, subsistence and shelter, and at the same time, it provides the family with ongoing contact with spatially distant kin. It is a case of generalized reciprocity in which the assumption is made that the same care would be afforded the host's own children if the necessity arose. These children are assimilated into the households and are given the same treatment as the natural children of the household, having the same rights and duties of the children of the household head. They are not treated as guests or given any special privileges. If they misbehave they are corrected by the household head or any other adult

in much the same way as he corrects his own children. They are subordinate and expected to obey the adults in the household.

Of all the types of extended residential units, this particular type is least likely to have a great deal of tensions. However, in cases where there is an attempt to retain the child in the residential unit against the wishes of the legal parents, family tensions do arise, although not necessarily within the residential unit. For example, in the case described above, the mother of the child taken by the childless uncle and aunt was very angry with the whole family because of the situation. My informant said that her sister "is now very aggressive with all of us. The more we helped the more aggressive she got." The foster parents had attempted to alienate the child's affections from the mother, with some success, but when the child had visits with the mother, the child got confused by the adult rivalries. The resulting condition was a bitter mother, a confused child and a childless couple who now has a child. None of these situations was intolerable, since, as the family pointed out, the mother had other children, the girl was receiving excellent treatment, the crisis necessities of the family had been met and the childless couple no longer was childless, and could play all of the roles expected of a married couple. This case, however, is a rare one, and usually children are brought into a residential unit with their parents' consent. Under these circumstances, many sources of tension are avoided with

the possible exception of jealousy between the children of the household head and their cousins with respect to preferential treatment.

The Grandchild Extended Residential Unit

The fifth type of residential unit is the household which adds a grandchild to the core unit of the couple, their children and their servants. This arrangement is quite common when the grandchild's parents have never been married, are separated or have died. The grandparents provide care in return for an extension of the childrearing period for the older woman which avoids the experience of the "empty nest" syndrome, known among middle aged American women. This type of arrangement usually lasts longer, and it is often permanent, for the entire maturation period of the child, especially in the case of orphans and children born out of wedlock. Orphanages are charity institutions with a low standard of living for their inmates. Although a form of adoption exists in Brazilian law, the associated agencies and organizations associated with American adoption do not exist in Brazil. Kinship groups take care of their own members.

In one case of an out of wedlock pregnancy, the grandmother of the pregnant girl said that the family had to face the responsibilities and protect the rights of all involved, including the girl and the unborn baby. She said she was against premarital sexual relations, but more against abortion. She insisted that the pregnant girl's

father see the situation in this light.

The acceptance of child care responsibilities by the grandparents frees the single parent to pursue an education, hold a job, or seek a spouse. However, the parent-child relationship becomes weakened and jealousies and conflicts concerning control of the child can arise. In one case, a bereaved young widow turned her infant son over to her in-laws and her young daughter to her parents, when her husband died because she was too distraught to care for them. Subsequently, her parents-in-law refused to give the infant back to her. The mother-in-law said that when the widow kept coming to get the boy and then would go away and leave him, she finally put her foot down and refused to let her take him back again. According to a cousin, the parents-in-law act as if the widow was responsible for her husband's death and they have taken the boy "as a replacement for the lost son" although they still have four other sons. When she remarried the widow asked the former mother-in-law to come to the wedding and bring the boy. But she refused.

In a case of an unmarried girl and her baby living with her parents and brothers and sisters, the girl became worried that the baby was getting too much attention from her parents and that they were undermining her parental authority. However, she was both working and going to law school and had to leave the baby with her parents the majority of the time.

In a similar case of a young woman who was a desquitada,

a young son spent the majority of his time with his grandmother, across the street from his mother's house. His mother made efforts to reassert her influence over him, but she simply wasn't around enough to make it work. Her mother said that she enjoyed reliving the maternal role. In some cases, jealousy would arise between other relatives over the custody of orphans. In one case, the two grandmothers of four orphaned children actually took a custody case to court, one claiming that the other only wanted control over the children's inheritance trust. However, custody, except in the case of desquite, is usually handled on an intrafamily matter without benefit of juridical, adoptive and other bureaucratic procedures.

Truncated Residential Units

Due to desquite or death, the core unit is sometimes reduced to one parent and her or his children and servants. This type of unit can be extended by the same seven types of kin that the core unit can be: by widows, widowers, bachelors, spinsters, married children, collateral children, or grandchildren, although it is more common for extended parties to be widowed mothers and collateral children.

In summary, as can be seen from these characterizations of the five types of residential units, the core unit, the widow-spinster extended unit, the married child extended unit, the collateral child extended unit, and the grandchild extended unit, the middle class residential units in Belo Horizonte are not nucleated. Furthermore, the bachelor

or career woman living alone in an apartment is extremely rare. Households often consist of kin who are at least three degrees of distance at the extremes, whether collateral. or generational. In addition, the employment of servants increases the complexity of the household. The basic reasons for such complexity in urban households seem to be the lack of well-run, comfortable orphanages, homes for the aged, adoption agencies and other reliable and trusted secondary institutions associated with meeting the needs of widows, orphans and other categories of middle class members who have difficulty meeting basic needs. The high rents and other inputs into the cost of living make such communal arrangements economically advantageous. The low wages of unskilled labor make the human power of domestic servants cheaper than the electrical power necessary for domestic appliances, which are expensive to purchase.

Patterns of Residential Clustering

Another feature of household patterns is the spatial arrangement of such residences of related individuals within the city. Proximity, created by living in the same household, is limited by the constraints on physical space within certain parts of the city. That is, urban density seems to create the need for intra-household density. However, not all relatives who are interdependent with one another can economically and efficiently live in the same household. Relatives often find it convenient to live near one another because of interdependence of kin group members for many

types of mutual aid which will be discussed below in Chapter V.

The kinship networks studied showed patterns of parts of three or four generational lineages living near one another at certain stages in the developmental cycle. The stages of the developmental cycle when this occurs are during the period when the apical, founding couple of the lineage (in the third or fourth ascending generation) is living in one of the extended residential units described above. Typically, several of their married children, who have established core units of their own, reside nearby either in the same apartment building, on the same street or in the same neighborhood. These groups of residential units fulfill the same kinds of needs for one another as coresident kin provide within the household: affection, ritual service, child care, emotional intervention, job referral, shared facilities and services, and role models, among others. In addition, by constituting separate units, these arrangements avoid some of the sources of tension, discussed above, which occur from continual intra-household contacts; if not avoiding them, the separation of residential units frequently provides escape from the irritation of such contacts, without losing the benefits of proximity, including companionship, intimacy, easy communication, shared costs for various services and guidance. People who live far from kin are not envied. They are considered sad, lonely, unhappy people. The farther one lives from kin, the less likely it is that a cooperative spirit will exist. Communications become cumbersome and expensive. However,

informants did recognize that such an experience might lead to greater independence from kin, a growth in maturity and self-reliance. But the quest for these qualities was considered selfish and often counter-productive.

Apartment Clusters

Middle class housing is scarce in Belo Horizonte, at a time when that class is growing. During the process of building apartment houses, contractors almost always sell the individual units as condominiums. Because of notorious practices of sacrificing building standards to meet contractual deadlines which are perpetuated by lack of enforcement of building codes and inspection procedures, members of the middle class are wary of purchasing such units from strangers. Frequently, therefore, contractors or engineers who are involved in a building project in which quality standards are maintained will inform their kin of the opportunity, and a number of related individuals will often purchase units in the same building.

Due to inflation and the scarcity of housing, especially middle class housing, investments in such real estate are profitable, because of both appreciation and rentability. As a result, middle class members wish to invest in these properties, especially if a trusted person, such as a family member, assures them of the worth of the investment. In some families, the older males will purchase a number of apartments in their own names, in trust for their married children. Then, each child receives the usufruct of the

property until the death of the parent, when the apartment becomes legally owned by the child. In this way, the parent retains some leverage over the behavior of the child and often characterizes this partial gift as a way of "protecting" the child. In one case of desquite, illustrated in Figure 2 the father (5) * of the husband (11) was so angry with the son's behavior that he changed the arrangement so that the apartment was held in trust for the son's children (18, 19, 20) who resided with their mother (10) in the apartment house, along with the other members of their father's family. Thus, the son born to the man's second wife was disenfranchised from the inheritance.

Figure 2 shows a crosssection of the apartment house, along with a kinship diagram of the family members who are coresident in the building. Other relatives are omitted. In the apartment cluster, examples of a truncated collateral child-extended unit (II) and a widow-extended unit (I) are found, along with simple core units (III, IV, V). Five upper apartments (I, II, III, V, VI) were purchased by Jorge Costa (5) for himself and his four childrren (11, 14, 15, 17). His brother, Paulo (4), also purchased an apartment (IV). Apartment VI which is designated for a younger daughter (17) who is not as yet married, is rented to outsiders until she marries and has need of its use. Apartment VII is owned and occupied by an engineer who worked for the construction firm along with a cousin of the Costa brothers, who informed them of the opportunity

*Arabic numerals refer to individuals; Roman numerals refer to households.

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

ROMAN NUMERALS INDICATE APARTMENT NUMBERS AND APPEAR AS A SUBSCRIPT BY EACH INDIVIDUAL ON THE KINSHIP DIAGRAM. ARABIC NUMERALS ARE ASSIGNED TO EACH INDIVIDUAL FOR IDENTIFICATION.

△ MALE

◯ FEMALE

= MARRIAGE

≠ DESQUITE

≡ "REMARRIAGE"

—— SIBLING LINK

----- HALF SIBLING LINK

| DESCENT

/ DEATH

E RESIDES ELSEWHERE

L LAUNDRESS

S LIVE-IN SERVANT

CC COLLATERAL CHILD

G GRANDMOTHER (WIFE'S MOTHER, OUTSIDE LINEAGE)

COSTA FAMILY
APARTMENT CLUSTER

I LS	II CCLS
III GLS	IV LS
V LS	VI OUTSIDER
VII OUTSIDER	GARAGE

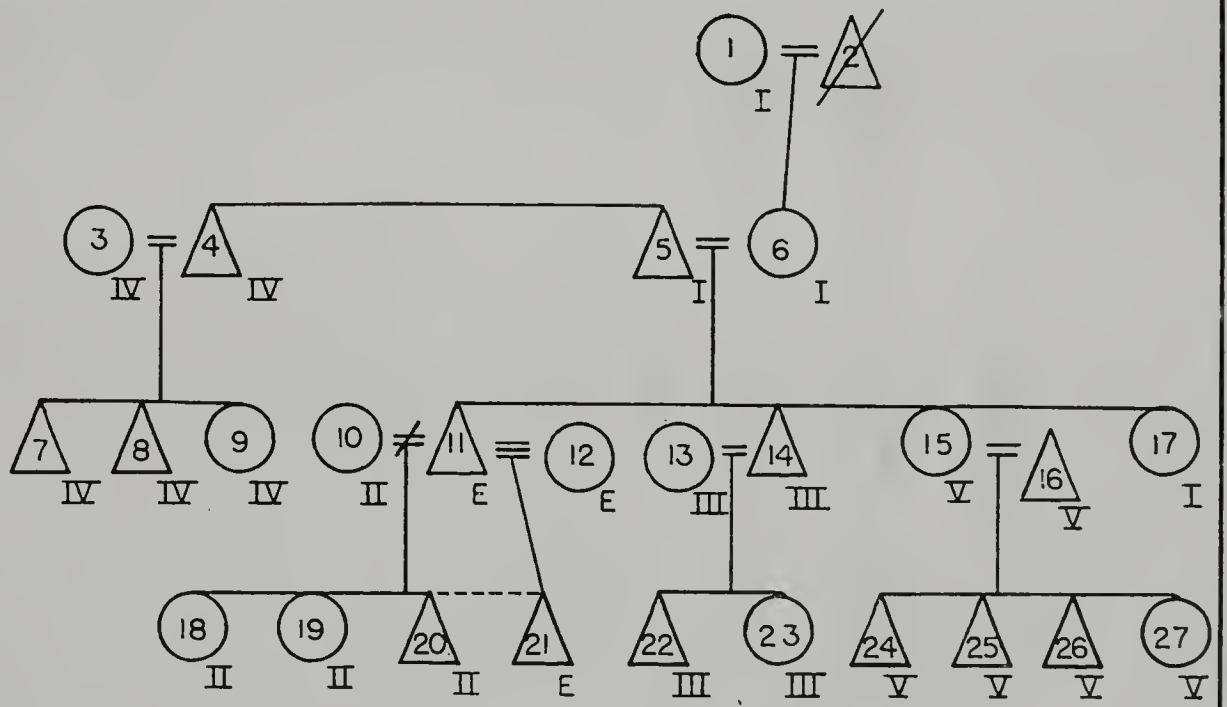

FIG. 2: NEIGHBORHOOD GUTIERREZ

to purchase apartments in the building.

Another less elaborate case is illustrated by Figure 3. Joao Silva (5) heard about the construction of a new apartment building from his sister's son, an engineer. So he purchased three apartments (IV, V, VIII) for himself and his two children (8, 9) in the building. His parents-in-law (3, 4) also purchased an apartment there (III) to be near their daughter (6). However, his son moved to Canada and his daughter to Rio de Janeiro, both for professional reasons, so he rents their apartments (V, VII) and sends the income to them.

The apartment cluster arrangement allows a high degree of interdependence with less loss of autonomy described for shared household arrangements and it allows for relatively small urban households to be bound together into cooperative groups of households which fulfill some of one another's needs which cannot be met within the household. One informant reported that a widow and her daughter lived in an apartment in the same building with her married son who has two children. She would go to his apartment during the day, but when her daughter-in-law returned from work, the older woman would go home. Thus, her need for companionship was met, without the need for continual interaction.

The advantages of clustering are great enough to encourage renting in the same building as well as purchasing in the same building, but such rentals are hard to find, especially in such specific locations. Thus, apartment

SILVA FAMILY
APARTMENT CLUSTER

I OUTSIDER	II OUTSIDER
III S	IV LS
V OUTSIDER	VI OUTSIDER
VII OUTSIDER	GARAGE

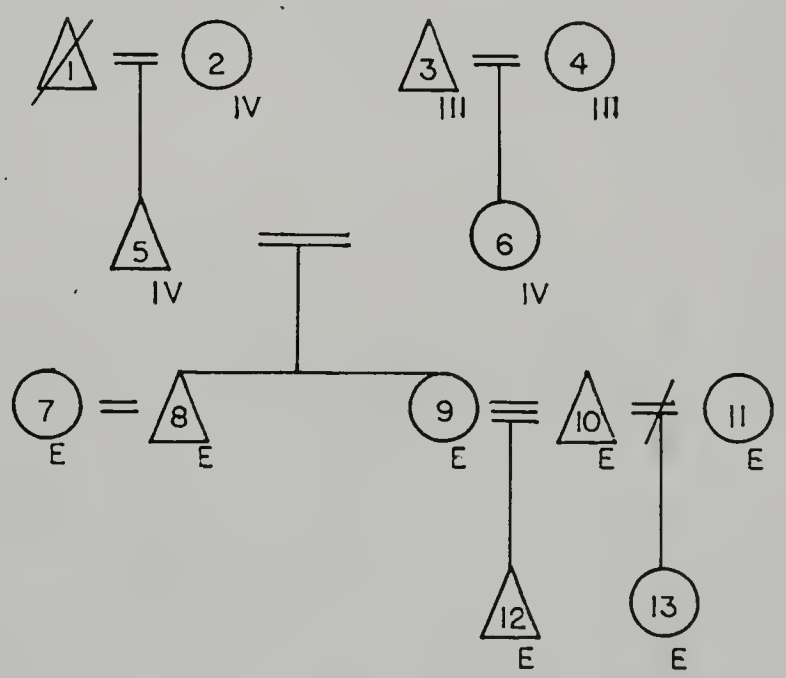

FIG. 3: NEIGHBORHOOD SANTO ANTONIO

clustering requires more time to arrange when rentals are involved and is symptomatic of a non-mobile population and occupational structure. The case illustrated in Figure 2 shows how small an apartment cluster becomes when occupational mobility becomes involved.

House Clusters

Houses on the Same Street

In neighborhoods which are less densely populated and do not have multiple units structures, the clustering pattern still appears among houses on facing blocks of the same street, as shown in Figure 4. In this case Jose Pinto and his wife, Aparecida, own the house (I) they live in with their youngest son and his wife. Another son rented the house next door for his wife, three daughters and himself (Household II). A third son rented a house across the street for his wife and himself. However, rentals make this type of cluster fragile. During the course of the study, due to disagreement between the father (2) and one of the sons (7), the latter decided to move to an apartment elsewhere in the city. It is significant to note, however, that 7 and 8 constitute a childless couple, and therefore do not have the needs for child care which Household II has and Household I often provides. Much of the daily contact among the households is visual, as characterized by the remark "I saw my mother-in-law going to the store today," or "My husband's father was late leaving for work yesterday."

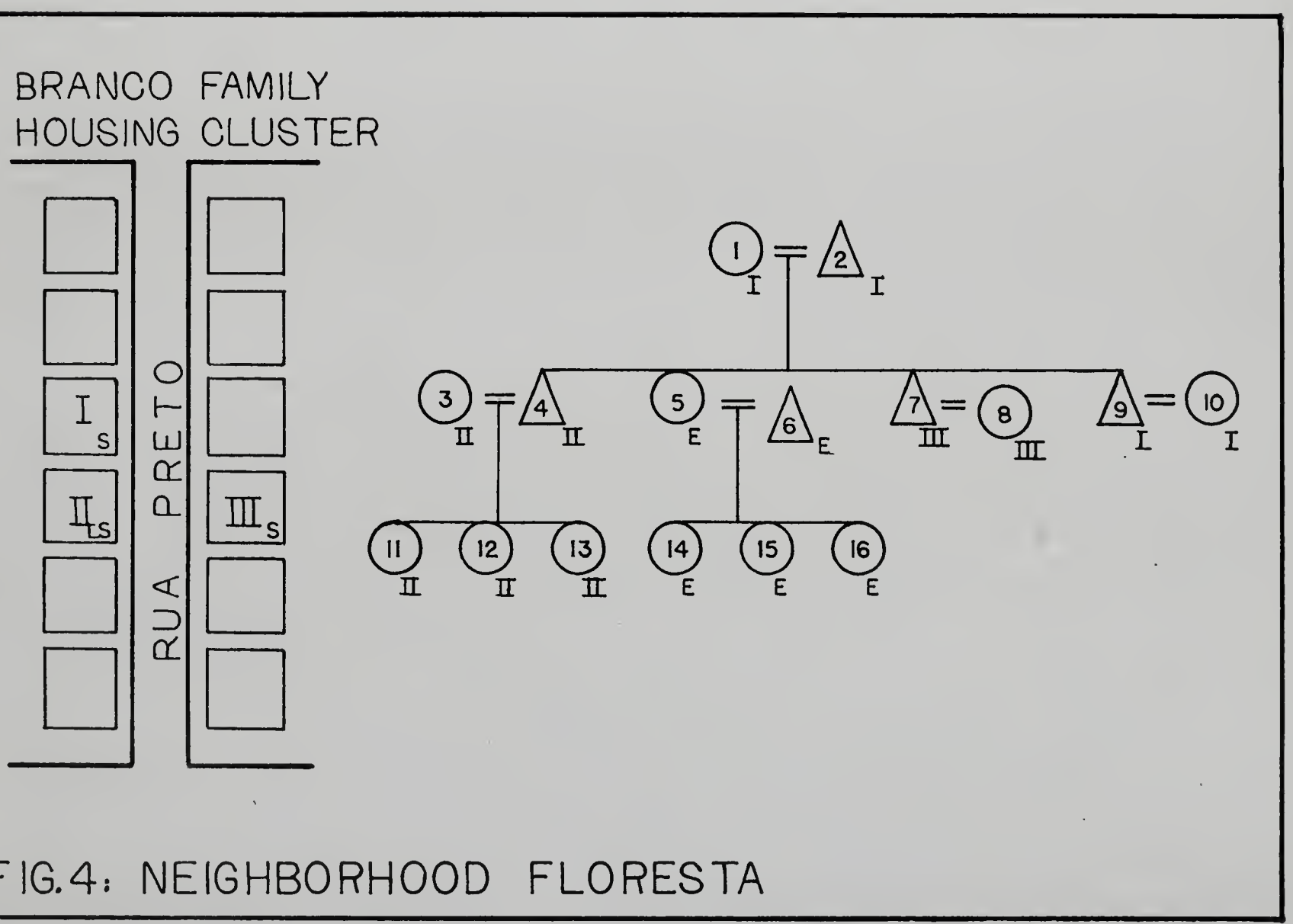

FIG. 4: NEIGHBORHOOD FLORESTA

Houses in the Same Neighborhood

For people with access to automobiles, the difference between living on the same street or in the same building and living a number of blocks away is hardly significant. A third type of residential cluster is illustrated in Figure 5, which incorporates Figure 4. The two additional households, numbered IV and V, as well as the three households from Figure 4 (I, II, III) constitute a total of nineteen relatives, five full-time employees and two part-time employees. Household IV consists of the parents and spinster aunt of the wife, from Household II. Household V is made up of her brother, his wife and their three children. Of course both households have full-time servants.

In general, clusters of houses serve similar functions as clusters of apartments, although the degree of interaction is probably somewhat less intense in houses. Apartment cluster dwellers reported having to let their kin know their limits on visiting and borrowing behavior. In houses, this need to set limits was not found.

Visiting for companionship or for the rendering of services, the exchange of information by telephone and other mutual aid activities seem to be important reasons why kin want to live within complex households and within kinship-defined clusters. Indeed, within the city, while living within lineage arrangements or in complex households are not considered ideal by many, especially the young, these spatial arrangements seem to fulfill important basic and secondary

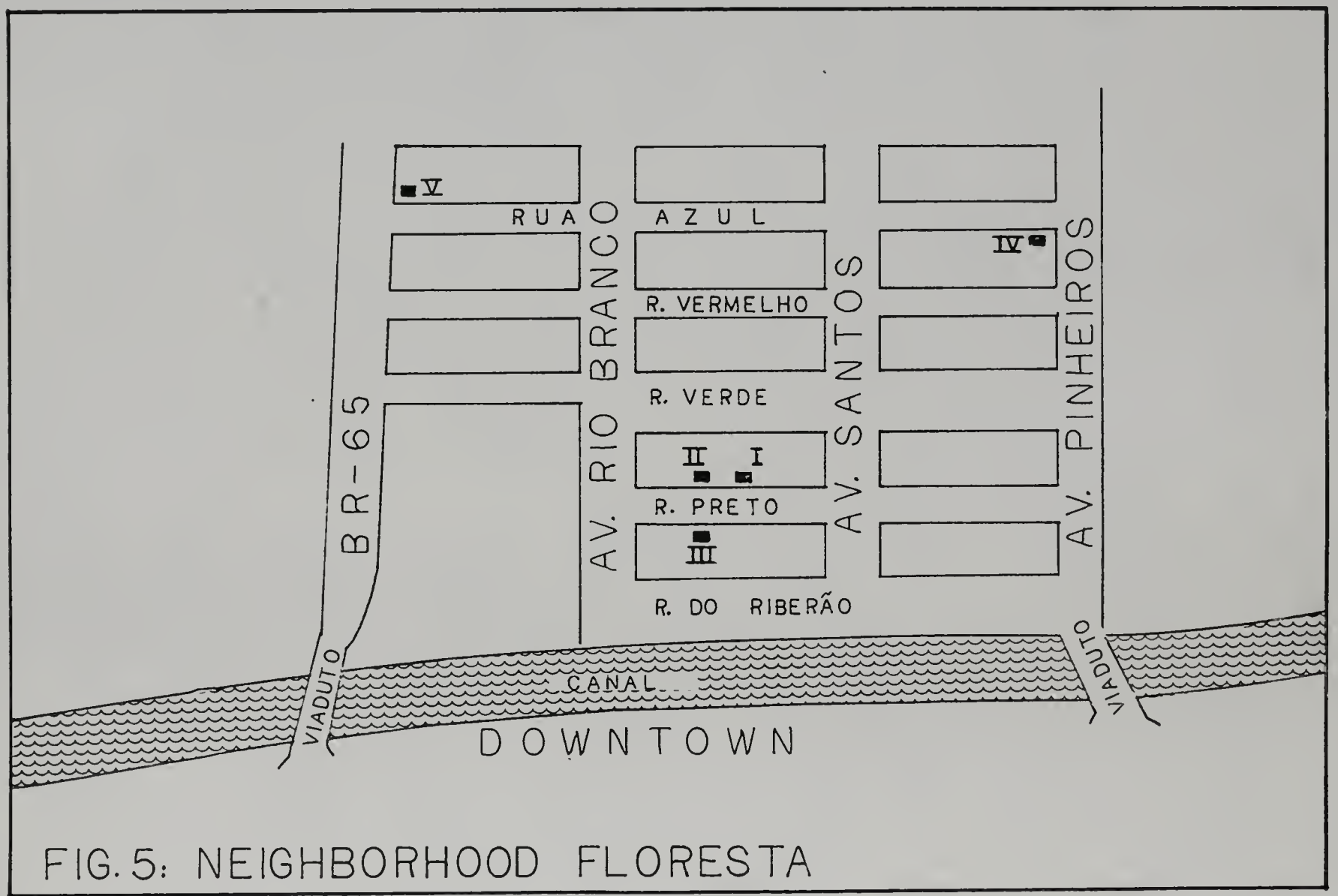

FIG. 5: NEIGHBORHOOD FLORESTA

needs of middle class members which are not met by secondary associations and agencies. Although these arrangements are not exactly parallel with lineage coresidence in some simple societies, nevertheless, they do exhibit some of the same features of corporate descent groups and are often held together by property and inheritance considerations as well as affection and cooperative arrangements for mutual aid.

CHAPTER V

THE KINSHIP NETWORKS (PARENTELAS)

Chapter III discussed the creation of urban kinship relationships in Belo Horizonte and the nature of kinship roles and their associated rights and duties. Chapter IV shows how groups of kinspeople form a variety of types of households which are often gathered into kinship clusters. The present chapter describes how urban kinship functions within extended non-residential networks (parentelas) as an adaptive mechanism for members of the middle class in the urban setting. This chapter will discuss the nature of these parentelas, their size, meetings, communications within parentelas and how a person determines his/her own network. The kinds of social situations which require aid as well as the type of aid and contact among kin will be reviewed, exemplified and compared, in order to illustrate functions of urban kinship links. Finally, extensions of networks to include fictive and nonkin are discussed as parallel phenomena.

The Nature of Parentelas

Kinship bonds among the urban middle class of Belo Horizonte are important and enduring. The patterns of residential clustering of domestic groups reveal some characteristics of self-perpetuating corporate descent groups among these parentelas. Domestic groups, although

small in size, are not composed of simple two generational lineal lines. But, as pointed out in Chapter I, coresidence is not necessarily essential for significant levels of interaction in the urban setting, since the dichotomy between work place and sleep place is carefully distinguished. In addition, the use of telephones, letters, taxis, buses, and private vehicles allows for kin who are not coresident in a household, block or neighborhood to have elective contact for specific purposes. The research reported in the present study indicates that this type of behavior creates a sense of unity among extended kin who are not coresident but who gather only on ritual occasions. This unity is often expressed in terms of the focus on a particular ancestral couple or individual. One informant eulogized her grandfather as a great and influential man who instilled pride in the whole family.

A sense of kin group unity is reinforced by mutual aid. Another informant said, referring to her husband's sibling group which was dispersed throughout Belo Horizonte,

> We are very united and we always go to the aid of each other. For example, when there are problems with children, financial problems, loans, gifts, and special aid in times of illness.

In addition to such feelings of empathy with need and pride, families are also said to share shame, when something unfortunate happens to a member who could have been helped by the family. The shame of out-of-wedlock pregnancy is felt by many members of the family who feel that counseling and

supervision were lax. One informant told of an aunt who was wrongly put in a mental hospital and was given erroneous treatment which caused her death. The niece said "Everyone in the family is ashamed of the way she died, alone, with the wrong treatment . . . ." The family felt that they had not fulfilled their duty to this woman. The sense of duty and obligation permeates the notion of the nature of parentelas.

Network Size

The discussion in Chapter III of the concept of familia shows the diverse ways in which people define that term as the need arises. The present study elicited kinship networks in the manner partly described in Chapter II, from several focal individuals (Egos) in order to find out whether kin groups became small in size in response to the urban setting. Each Ego was asked to list all their known kin, consanguineal, affinal and fictive. They were also asked to tell about the residence, occupation, age, terminology of address (kin term, first name, surname or nickname) and anecdotes concerning these kinspeople.

Three categories of kin seemed to appear: (1) activated kin, those about whom Ego had complete or almost complete information; (2) non-activated kin, those about whom Ego had minimal information (but had means of getting more information, usually through a contact person); (3) dormant kin, those about whom Ego had no information other than the fact that they existed and were related (having no means

or desire of obtaining more information).

Including only the activated and non-activated kin in the definition of parentela, the parentelas ranged in size from 125 to 261 members. The activated sub-group ranged from 90 to 154 members. Within the activated group, each Ego identified a subgroup with whom she/he had at least weekly contact, numbering from 15 to 30 persons; in the networks studied these included the following categories of relatives in order of frequency: spouse, own children, mother, father, mother-in-law, father-in-law, parent's siblings and their spouses, grandparents, first cousins, spouse's siblings and their spouses, own siblings and their spouses, nieces and nephews.

Fictive kinship ties rarely brought new members into the parentelas by the mechanism of godparenthood, compadria, established at religious ceremonies such as baptism and marriage. Such fictive kin, padrinhos in ascending generations, afilhados in the descending generation and compadres in the same generation, were usually selected from consanguineal and affinal kin group rather than from outside it. The baptismal godparents of Ego's own children, when not taken from the consanguineal or affinal kin group, were included in the activated group, as were Ego's own baptismal godparents. But there were only two cases of non-kin serving as baptismal godparents discovered in this study. (Ritual godparenthood will be discussed in greater detail below.)

The questionnaire data displayed on Table IX indicate that most teenaged respondents have frequent contact with kin in addition to parents and siblings.

TABLE IX

Frequency of Extended Kin Contact

	Count	Relative Frequency (%)
Never	2	.9
Once a year or less	13	5.7
Twice a year to once a month	29	12.7
About once a month	39	17.0
About once a week	53	23.1
More than once a week but less than daily	35	15.3
Daily	56	24.5
Other (more often, whenever I have time)	2	.9
	229	100.0

63.8% have weekly contact or greater. This frequency does not necessarily relate to absolute network size, but does indicate a fairly high degree of interaction.

Network size is indicated by data on sibling group size, since siblings are significant in the list of network Alters. The data presented above in Table VIII (p. 93) indicated a decline in mean sibling group size from the parental generation to Ego's generation and the expectation of further decline in sibling group size indicated by preferences expressed by respondents. The reason for

this is not clear. However, the overall size of the kinship networks described by the informants is still large although the larger sibling groups from the parentelas studied were found among relatively recent migrants to the metropolis from rural areas and small towns.

A cross tabulation of sibling group size by attitudes on the merit of family help showed that children from sibling groups with two or less members are more indifferent to family aid and show a significantly lower percentage who think family aid is good than do children from larger sibling groups.

Parentela Meetings

Parentelas are somewhat like corporate kin groups although "corporate" kin groups are rarely found in bilateral or cognatic systems such as that found in Brazil. The term "corporate" implies that the kin group has a sense of unity often provided by a common name, ritual meetings and some form of property which is inherited by the members of the group. Murdock (1960) distinguishes corporate kin groups from "occasional" kin groups which gather only for ritual occasions and "circumscriptive" kin groups, which never function as units, but merely serve to define the rights and duties of the members to each other. Parentelas seem to fit into the notion of "occasional" kin group in that they have such meetings, but they usually have no joint property owned by all members.

The fact that Brazilian Egos can describe such networks is not unique. Morgan pointed out that kinship networks exist in every type of kinship system. He said, "Around every person there is a circle or group of kindred of which such person is the center, the Ego, from whom the degree of the relationship is reckoned, and to whom the relationship itself returns" (1871:10). However, the fact that Brazilian middle class kin groups do meet as "occasional" ritual groups distinguishes them from "circumscriptive" kin groups which may never meet.

There are several important types of family meetings which serve the function of engendering group unity: weekly gatherings, birthdays, weddings and crisis meetings. These meetings serve to promote unity among different parts of the parentela. These weekly gatherings are usually three generational events attended by a group of descendants of an apical ancestor or an apical couple. One example given by an informant responded that "my family gets together every Sunday at my father's house." In this case, the group included parents, siblings, spouses of siblings, children of siblings, spouse, children, and from time to time cousins, aunts or uncles of Ego.

An informant couple made a practice of visiting the husband's aunt every Sunday along with the aunt's husband and married children with their spouses and children. The reason given for attendance was that the aunt was godmother of the couple's youngest daughter and they liked the aunt

very much. In fact, the aunt worked as a seamstress to supplement her household income. In this capacity, she did quite a bit of sewing for her niece and husband. Also, since they lived near both sets of parents whom they had contact with on a daily basis, they used their weekends to maintain contacts with more distantly related kin.

Birthday parties usually serve this function, at least every other month for most people.* Weddings are important events which serve to unite non-activated kin from time to time. One informant said, "My nieces and nephews are still quite young so they won't get married very soon. It's too bad that there is no marriage in sight to unite the family." Another informant reported the following views of her parents who were in their sixties on the function of weddings. "My parents like to continue to go to weddings a lot and other family events. My father says that this is to maintain the friendship within the family, even though the grandparents have died." This quotation supports Garigue's findings on French-Canadian kinship practices that often within urban kin groups an awareness of the importance of kinship and a wide range of kinship knowledge increases with age (1956). Garigue's findings that women tended to be instrumental in keeping up with the family news are also supported by the fact that young men were typically the ones who refused to participate in family gatherings.

During family crises it was not uncommon for meetings of the relatives to be called for the purpose of problem

*Attendance at birthday parties is discussed in greater detail on page 170 below.

solving. In one case, a woman contacted her father to explain that her husband was in legal and financial trouble. The family of the husband had not been informed of the grave nature of the crisis including the threat of imprisonment of the husband and the need for support of the wife and children. So, the father of the woman called a meeting of the family (her brothers and their wives) together with representatives of her husband's family (his brother and wife, his sister and husband, and his parents). The exchange of information and the joint decisions made on how to help the couple were the main objects of the meeting.

All of these types of meetings serve to unite groups of kin into self-recognizing units. The group created in each type of meeting are different instruments for the particular occasion, but all serve to reinforce the awareness of a sense of common obligation among the larger "circumscriptive" kindred.

Network Communications

In addition to meetings for the purposes of recreation, rituals and communications, kin networks are held together by the exchange of various other types of information: family news such as pregnancies, births, activities of children, namoros, engagements, marriages, separations, graduations, illnesses, employment, unemployment and other events and information about dealings with the outside world, including recommendations for potential employment, bureaucratic facilitations, inside tips on business

ventures, job openings, legal and medical advice, tips on filling out tax returns, and the location of new stores or restaurants.

The need for information exchange within kin networks besides the special private familial information is caused by what one informant called the "illiteracy of the literates." The usual sources of what is perceived as trustworthy information are people rather than printed matter such as newspapers, guides, instruction sheets, books, market quotations and various kinds of regulations. People are suspicious of what they read. They always believe there must be a way to "do something" or "work out a deal,"* to bypass an apparently impossible situation outlined in written rules. This perception is not inaccurate for the middle class or upper class which have access to powerful patrons in control of decision-making processes. Information under these conditions becomes important, powerful and reusable commodity within a kinship group where trust is implicit.

The line between gossip and information-sharing is not clearly marked, since the giver of information does not want to "spend it" without making sure it is needed. Therefore, in order to receive information, one must give reasons for needing it and thus share more information. One of the most interesting aspects of informational reciprocities within kinship groups is the frequent involvement of third and fourth parties in the informational exchange. For

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*dar um jeito

example, in one married-child-extended residential unit, the head of the household was concerned about his son's loneliness because his son's wife was out of town visiting her sister. So, he called his daughter-in-law's mother and asked her to tell the young woman to come home because her husband was lonely. Figure 6 shows the way in which a request for money from in-laws was made by a man who was too embarrassed by legal and financial dealings to ask his own family for help. As his sister-in-law (Betânia) told me,

> Yesterday there was a big problem. Paulo called Maria and said that he needed money. He must have heard that she sold the cars. She called Claudia to have her tell my father-in-law. Mario told Claudia to tell Maria that if she gives Paulo one tostão [red cent] he will cut her off and not give her any more support.

Maria's father, Eduardo, eventually gave her some more money with the stipulation that the husband should not receive any of it.

Communications among networks vary in the basis for knowledge, means of communication, and the way in which information is discussed. The basis for knowledge is usually seeing something, being told by a participant or being told by a close relative of a participant. The means of communications are face to face or telephone conversations. In addition, letters are used to communicate with out of town relatives. Sometimes the information is given as news, presented as a "situation" for discussion

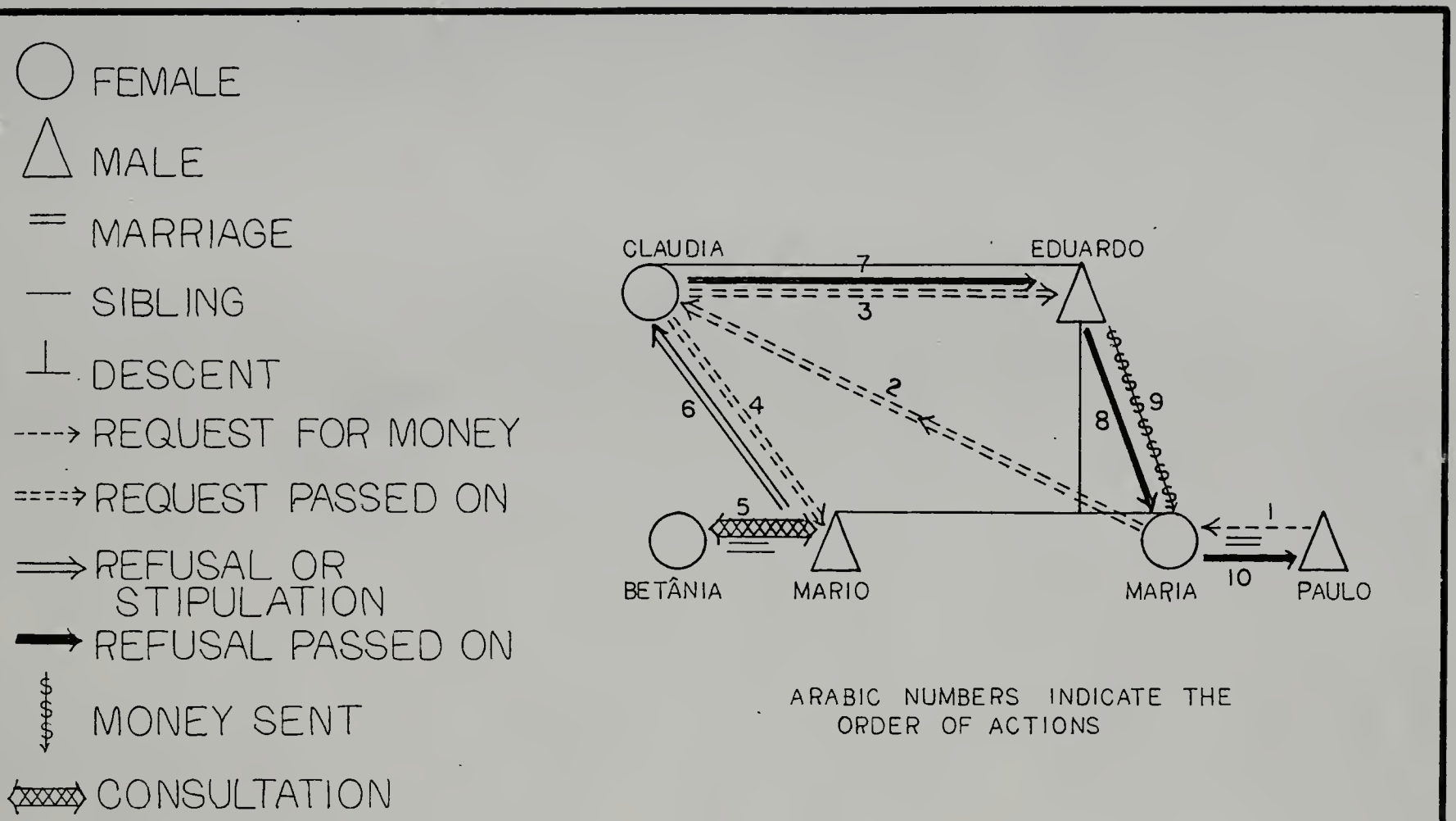

FIG. 6: A REQUEST FOR MONEY

or action, or presented as a request for advice. The sharing of family information is a way of including kin in events from which they are excluded or a way of giving information necessary to the maintenance of "friendship" within the family. The sharing of other information is a mechanism for rendering mutual aid as well as maintaining group solidarity.

Tracing Ancestry and Establishing Kin Ties

The type of kin reckoning found among the Brazilian middle class is often referred to as a "bilateral" system by various sociologists and anthropologists (Parsons 1943; Fox 1967; Shusky 1965). However, this type of kinship system does not have all of the same kinds of absolute endogamic and exogamic rules as do unilineal systems and Pehrson feels that the great adaptive strength of bilateral systems is the ability to create groups which are temporary alliances, a demonstration of the flexibility of the kinship structure (1970:195).

British anthropologists have preferred the term "cognatic" rather than bilateral to refer to kinship systems where all consanguines are potentially considered related. As Radcliffe-Brown pointed out, "persons are cognatic kin or cognates when they are descended from a common ancestor or ancestress counting descent through males and females" (1950:4). Membership in a cognatic kindred cannot, however, be simply defined in terms of common descent, because the descent test applies only to

each dyad, not to the whole group. Therefore, more options are available to members of the society to form instrumental groups within their kindred. Garigue (1956) concluded from his research that kinship systems of a bilateral or cognatic nature are elastic, and that the groups can disintegrate and reform after a period of disunity.

The major types of relationships which create kin ties in cognatic systems are marriage and filiation which have been discussed for the middle class of Belo Horizonte in depth in Chapter III. Collateral ties are often not as important as lineal ones among this group, but after demonstrating a collateral relationship, the collateral relative is considered fully a member and has rights and obligations to the kin by that discovery of a tie. One informant said, "Our family does not appear to be close, but it is. When an unknown cousin appears, everyone loves to receive him."

Middle class Brazilians tend to have a matrilateral preference in identifying activated kin. This fact is attributed by informants to the practice of women marrying older men and the greater kin knowledge of women. As an informant said,

> I know my mother's family better than my father's because she was younger and knew more. My mother was in the middle of her family, but my father was the next to the last in his. Most of my father's brothers and sisters died before I was born. My father was the last to die in his family. We always called him the Old One (O Velho).

The idea of considering affinal relations as relatives in a similar sense as consanguineous ones is not usual among the group studied, even though the exogamy rules described in Chapter III prohibit marriage between lineal affines. The Brazilian Portuguese term for relative, parente, does not include affinal relationships.

The Need for Mutual Aid in Kinship Networks

Once ties have been established, exchange of information and meetings begin to take place among the members of personal kinship networks. The reasons that kinship obligations are not rejected among the middle class of Belo Horizonte include the fact that these ties are seen as necessities rather than luxuries, aiding in personal and group advancement and monetary gain rather than standing in the way of these phenomena. In Belo Horizonte, associations and agencies devoted to child care are few and, in general, poorly administered. The institution of baby-sitting for wages is unknown. Kin groups often fulfill the needs of their members for such services by taking care of children both temporarily and permanently. Formal procedures and requirements for obtaining credit from public sources such as banks are extremely complicated and are aimed at barring as many as possible from access to credit, in recognition of the poverty of the vast majority of the population and the fear of bad debts on the part of creditors. Kin, especially parents, parents-in-law, and siblings, are often called upon to act as creditors for young people. Hotels are expensive, especially

when compared with the real income of most middle class members. When people travel, they almost always stay overnight with kin rather than in a hotel. Rental housing is difficult to find and quite expensive. Relatives often write letters of reference or make telephone calls to apartment owners to facilitate rental agreements. Rules against nepotism in employment rarely exist and are usually ignored if they do. People often call upon their relatives to help them find jobs in the companies, agencies and other places where they work. The administration of justice is notoriously biased; penal institutions are stratified by favoritism in terms of treatment of prisoners. Being related to a highly placed official can insure that prison will not be as horrifying for the middle class member. (Usually, members of the middle classes use "pull" to avoid prison altogether.) The prohibition of legal divorce and the limitations on grounds for desquite complicate the problems of spouses who no longer desire to live together. This situation furthers the dependence of people who have been through a desquite on their kin groups for emotional and financial aid. The number of hospitals and medical personnel is small in proportion to the needs of the population, and as a result, facilities are strained, and care in hospitals is often poor. Middle class members often nurse their own members while in the hospital and, in cases of serious illnesses, provide doctors from the ranks of the kin group as well. Bureaucratic procedures such as getting a drivers license,

registering an automobile, obtaining a visa, renting a post office box, and obtaining a marriage license are designed to be obstacles to the uneducated and unsponsored.

Types of Aid and Contact Among Kin

The needs mentioned above are all solved by information sharing, as discussed above, the rendering of services, loans, discounts, provision of temporary and permanent housing, employment referrals, medical or legal aid and advice, gift-giving, provision of support payments, red-tape cutting, joint business activities, visiting and a variety of kinds of crisis aid. Each of a number of types of aid and contact rendered by kin are discussed in the following section in greater detail.

Employment Referral

Using influence to get jobs for kin is a common form of mutual aid found among middle class kin. Almost every informant described job hunting help practices in the family. One of the duties an older brother took over for the brood of children left in his care by his parents' death was to "arrange jobs for all of them." Arranging jobs is one way of caring for the destitute, widowed, and desquitados. One informant said,

> My sister, Maria das Graças, was widowed by the death of her husband from typhus. She had two children and no work although she was trained as a teacher. So my father arranged employment for her.

Arranging jobs is also a way of controlling behavior. One

young man's parents refused to help find employment for him because he refused to go to law school. This prohibition kept him from being able to marry his girlfriend. As a result, his girlfriend's brother-in-law found a bank job for him in the bank where he was a manager, in order to allow the young couple to marry. In another case, an older brother was trying to get a job for his brother in the engineering firm where he worked in order to make the younger man financially able to move from his parents' home to his own apartment with his wife of two years.

In contrast, the data from the questionnaires show that a majority of respondents would not seek the aid of relatives in attempting to obtain employment although a large minority did say they would seek kin aid.

TABLE X

Source of Help in Job Hunting

	Count	Relative Frequency (%)
Relatives	92	40.9
Other	133	59.1
	225	100.0

Since other data indicate that the aid of kin may be a kind of last resort security, it is not surprising that a majority of these presumably optimistic teenaged respondents would not select kin as a source of hypothetical aid in

job hunting. In correlating these results with the responses to the attitudes question on whether family help is considered beneficial, the data showed that belief that family aid was good correlated more strongly with the willingness to seek the aid of relatives in job hunting than the overall rate of selection of that option in the entire group of respondents (see Table XI).

TABLE XI

Correlation of Attitudes on Merit of Family Aid with Willingness to Seek Family Aid in Job Hunting

	Family Help is: Good	Bad	Indifferent	Row Total
I would seek help from				
Relatives				
count	85	3	4	92
row percentage	92.4	3.3	4.3	41.1
column percentage	43.8	23.1	23.5	
total percentage	37.9	1.3	1.8	
Others				
count	109	10	13	132
row percentage	82.6	7.6	9.8	58.9
column percentage	56.2	76.9	76.5	
total percentage	48.7	4.5	5.8	
Column Totals	194	13	17	224
	86.6%	5.8%	7.6%	100%

Raw Chi Square = 4.50377 with 2 Degrees of Freedom
Significance = 0.1052
Cramer's V = 0.14180

Thus, the attitudes seem to be correlated with behavior, although it is interesting that a majority of those who feel family aid is good do not indicate that they would

seek it for the purposes of employment searches.

Loans

The members of kinship networks also respond to the difficulty of getting credit and the desire to protect the credit rating of kin by granting loans or gifts disguised as loans, acting as cosigners on loans or covering bad debts. These types of mutual aid are fairly common. Loans are given for the purposes of investment, meeting car, dentist or doctor payments, down payments on vehicles and apartments and living expenses. The duration of such loans was usually indefinite, ranging from days to years, and frequently the creditor's expectation was that the loan would not be paid off at all. Interest was never charged. The dyads of relatives involved were brother to brother, father to son, minor children to parents, uncle to nephew, and nephew to aunt. It is interesting to note in all cases except that of children lending to parents, the giver was male, while the receiver was of either sex. In the case of minors lending to parents, the father held the "paternal power" and actually was making the loan to himself. The creditors of the bad debts covered by members of kinship networks were banks, schools, Diners' Club credit card, the state government (for embezzled funds) and other relatives. The dyads of relatives involved in these transactions almost always followed the pattern of male to male or female: father to son, father to daughter, father-in-law to son-in-law, brother to sister, grandfather to grandson, and wife

to husband. These relationships, it should be pointed out, are not several degrees of distance from each other but are from a kind of three generational core kin group.

On the questionnaire survey, the colégio students were asked what kind of financing they would seek for the purchase of a car. 21.2% (48) said they would seek family aid while 78.9% (180) would seek other means. Other informants who sought loans from relatives dor apartment down payments and other needs said that the initial purchase of a car should be paid for by one's own work.

Borrowing

Another common form of mutual aid is borrowing items of value. The most commonly borrowed things are automobiles, trucks, and vans. Other commonly borrowed items are electrical appliances, such as tape players, and foodstuffs. Relatives also use each other's telephones. Borrowing does not follow the male dominant pattern: Women as frequently as men are the lenders, although automobiles are more frequently the property of men than women. Another form of automobile use, giving rides, is also commonly and regularly made available by members of kin networks.

Services

A variety of types of both professional and non-professional services for which payment would normally be made are rendered by members of kin networks in the areas

psychological orientation, accounting advice, nursing, sewing, crochet, embroidery, medical advice, engineering consulting and others.

Psychological Therapy. Psychologists, within the families studied, said that they did not like to treat family members on an ongoing basis. However, examples of referrals to other psychologists were common, as well as occasional counseling with troubled teenagers or married couples were mentioned. No charge is made for such services.

Accounting advice. The most important kind of accounting advice which is commonly exchanged within kin networks is related to income tax preparation. The service is usually free. Those who rendered this service were usually professional accountants or bankers. The service was offered by nephews to uncles, fathers to sons, fathers-in-law to sons-in-law, and father to son's father-in-law.

Nursing. Nursing is a common form of service rendered. Mothers often stay in the hospital with their daughters who are giving birth, giving care to both daughter and infant. Whenever possible nursing care is rendered at home, and home care is thought to be better than hospital care. Professional nurses are called upon to assist in operations on family members or to supervise continuing care for chronic conditions. One informant described the services given by her aunt to various family members.

> My aunt is a graduate nurse, and when my sister had her daughter, my aunt assisted the doctor in the delivery which was a

> Caesarian. My aunt gives injections under the skin, into the veins. My mother receives this type of help. Another brother of my aunt was sick with kidney failure and she took care of him because she happened to be here.

No cash payment is made for either professional nursing or lay nursing by close relatives. These services are apparently a part of a reciprocal system of mutual obligation.

Sewing, crochet and embroidery. Women within the family often have skills in sewing, crochet and embroidery which they use to earn supplemental income. Often they will give gifts of their handwork to kin, but sometimes kin will go to them as customers, in which cases payment is made. One informant said, "My aunt gave a set of embroidery and crochet to my daughter and daughter-in-law for their enxovais*. We reciprocate by giving her money presents or things she can use."

Medical advice. It is also common for people to trust doctors from their own families more than strangers. Treatment of childhood diseases, accidental injuries, dietary illnesses, repiratory arrest, cardiac conditions, and diagnostic advice (including ordering tests) were the kinds of medical care offered by physicians within the family. All physicians in the families studied were male. The type of relatives served were grandmothers, aunts, cousins, nieces, nephews, sisters, grandchildren and brothers. No charge was made for such services.

Engineering consulting. As discussed in Chapter IV, construction engineers are often called upon to advise kin

*hope chest, dowery, trousseau

in apartment purchases. One informant described the aid given by one such engineer to his family.

> He came here to this apartment and looked at the quality of the construction and gave us the verdict. He has built buildings for members of his family--his mother and his mother-in-law and a brother--for cost. He made no profit. He is a friend of the owners of this building and obtained a reduction in price for us. He often gives advice to members of the family on properties they wish to purchase.

When there are several engineers in the same family, at times they advise one another on professional matters, as well as friends and colleagues. Construction engineers sometimes have access to materials at wholesale cost which they provide to members of their families who need to purchase them.

Other services. Network members provide many other kinds of services to their kin. One uncle secured insurance coverage for his pregnant niece on his group medical policy to meet the costs of childbirth. A psychologists was called upon to help her cousin in studying for university exams in psychology. Another woman bought black market money from her son's mother-in-law, to send to him since he was residing outside the country. She could legally send him only a certain amount per month. A son brought a TV repairman to his mother's home and supervised his work. When a young dentist opened his office for the first time, his aunts, uncles, brothers and sisters flocked to get appointments. Other kinds of services include accmpanying someone to doctor's appointments, staying with someone who is

expecting the imminent death of a relative, and staying with someone who is having emotional or financial difficulties. Except in the case of the young dentist and the purchase of money, payment is usually not made for such services.

Child Care

Two types of child care, temporary and permanent, are provided by kin to the parents of the child. Temporary child care is provided when relatives live together in the same household, when children visit relatives, when the parents have a desquite, when mothers work, when mothers have to run errands, when parents experience illness or financial difficulties, when the child is sent to relatives for schooling and when grandparents desire the company of grandchildren. Permanent child care is provided in the cases of the death of one or both parents, serious illness or financial problems of parents, emotional disturbance in the mother or desquite.

The kinship relation of persons likely to provide temporary child care include aunts, uncles, grandparents and cousins. The kinship relation of persons likely to provide permanent child care include stepmother, brother's wife, father's second "wife," grandmother, sister and aunt. While temporary child care is provided by either males or females, permanent child care is always assigned to women. Although the few relatives who refused to care for children are said to be snobbish, they usually justify their refusals

in terms of being "too busy" or too "nervous" to be able to do it. In other words, the obligation to care for children seems to be recognized although sometimes not fulfilled in actual behavior.

According to Talcott Parsons, the isolation of the conjugal family in the American "middle class normative" family caused by the geographic mobility of the conjugal pair in optimizing economic opportunities (1949) caused Ego to place first loyalty in her/his family of procreation since there is a "necessity of maintaining impartiality between the two families of orientation" (1943:30). In the case of childrearing practices, the resulting need for independence of the conjugal family supposedly requires the parents to maintain distance from either family of orientation. However, the Brazilian cases did not show a correlation between the integration of the conjugal family into extended kin, interaction and an imbalance between the two families of orientation. One informant described a very balanced child care arrangement which had been in practice for five years.

> My wife started working in March after the birth (December 31). When she was working she left the baby, either with my parents or her parents. We alternate. We wouldn't like to favor one over the other. They dispute the privilege of caring for her. Especially my in-laws do, because she's their first grandchild.

Housing

Housing is often provided by family members for children and adult kin in cases of permanent, semi-permanent

or temporary need. Permanent is used here to mean that the stay is intended until the end of one's life. Semi-permanent is used here to mean that the stay does not have a set termination date, but the conditions which cause the need to stay are perceived to be no longer than several years duration. Temporary is used to mean that the stay has a set termination date at the time it begins, and that the specific circumstances which require or encourage the stay have a fixed and limited duration. Permanent housing is provided for the aged, widowed, and handicapped, as well as for women who are unable to support themselves and have been abandoned or desquitada. Semi-permanent housing is provided in cases of minor children in need due to parental illness or financial hardship, adult married children whose incomes are not sufficient for self-support, marriageable young widows and orphaned adult women, teenaged siblings who have disputes with parents, and relatives who are hiding from the police. Temporary housing is provided for out-of-town relatives who are avoiding the high costs of hotels for short visits for the purpose of medical consultations, vacation visits, attendance at ritual events such as weddings, attending to business in the metropolis. Temporary housing is provided for in-town relatives when a place is needed to stay while apartment hunting, when a couple wants to stay out late (leaving their children), when the husband or wife is out-of-town or when apartments or houses become temporarily unlivable, due to remodeling, painting or other upheaval.

Permanent and semi-permanent arrangements are discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

Food is also provided along with housing. Often, relatives are welcome to drop in for meals or refreshments on a regular basis. Sometimes, a relative becomes a regular luncheon guest even though he or she is not sleeping in the household.

Housing and board are the typical way in which old age assistance is provided for members of kinship networks, since formal institutions offering geriatric care do not exist. Members of the middle class of Belo Horizonte consider it irresponsible to put an older person in an institution rather than care for them at home. These attitudes and behavior toward the aged tend to support Parson' assumption that the lack of isolation of the conjugal family would prevent the alienation of youth from the aged and makes assertions of independence less adaptive (1943:31).

Ritual Events

Rituals which accompany or commemorate the addition of new members to the kinship network are the most important occasions. Marriages are recognized as very important events where "friendship within the family" is encouraged and where unification takes place. This function of weddings is discussed above under the topics of the Wedding Ritual and Parentela Meetings. Birthday parties are also important events for family unification. Table XII shows how often questionnaire respondents reported attending the birthday

parties of their relatives per year.

TABLE XII

Yearly Attendance at Relatives' Birthday Parties

Frequency	Count	Relative Frequency (%)
Never	13	5.8
Once	23	10.3
2-6 times	75	33.5
7-12 times	41	18.3
13-30 times	36	16.1
31-60 times	16	7.1
Other*	20	8.9
	224	100.0

*Including "I don't know," "Whenever there are parties" and other unspecific replies.

Over 40% of the respondents attend birthday celebrations at least once every two months, and 23.2% attend them at least once a month.

The interview and life history data support the notion that birthday parties are important rituals for maintaining family solidarity whether it is the birthday of a child or an adult. Birthday parties in honor of adults or children in middle class homes are similar. They usually begin around 8 P.M. As the guests arrive they are divided into two groups: adults and children. If the party is in honor of the child, the parents will often provide special entertainment for children--for example, a magician or some

cartoon films. In some homes, the adults divide themselves along sex lines, but in others men and women discuss events and news together.

These parties are considered obligations for both host and guest. One is expected to be home on the evening of one's birthday to receive guests who decide to visit. Excuses I heard for not receiving guests on one's birthday were mourning and "feeling uncomfortable." No formal invitations are issued, and guests come because they keep track of birthdays and because plans are sometimes discussed informally among family members. If a relative can't attend, an excuse is made. One set of grandparents sent a telegram when they missed a granddaughter's fifth birthday party. Guests are expected to bring a gift for the person whose birthday is being celebrated. Some women kept a number of wrapped gifts on hand just in case they had to go to a birthday party on short notice. Birthday parties I attended had as many as fifty people in attendance. Refreshments served typically include alcoholic beverages, soft drinks including guaraná, coca cola, pao de queijo, puffed cheese breads, empadinhas, meat turnovers, Jello, and birthday cake.

Many other events besides birthday parties function as family unification rites, especially religious rituals. Of all such rituals attended by kin, weddings are the best attended, as shown in Table XIII.

TABLE XIII

Comparison of % of Respondents Ever Attending Various Rituals (Not their own)

N = 229

	Wedding	First Communion	Confirmation	Wake	Burial	Seventh Day Mass
1. Of relatives only	6.6	28.6	16.4	15.0	14.4	19.6
2. Of relatives and non-relatives	86.0	36.6	12.8	55.8	59.8	50.7
3. Total relatives (1+2)	(92.0)	(65.2)	(29.2)	(70.8)	(74.2)	(70.3)
4. Of non-relatives only	6.6	8.8	12.4	12.4	12.7	17.8
5. Never	0.9	26.0	58.4	16.8	13.1	12.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

One first communion ritual I attended was for a class of school children whose preparation for this event had been conducted during school hours. The communicants were dressed in school uniforms rather than special clothing. For a class of approximately thirty communicants, the church was packed at 9 A.M. of a weekday with relatives of all ages and a large representation of middle aged and young men armed with cameras, who apparently took time off from their jobs to attend the ritual. Families sat in groups and talked among themselves hardly paying attention to the priest

until the mass was over. Afterwards, clumps of people gathered in the courtyard to greet one another and give words of blessing to the communicant children. Family gatherings were apparently more important than the actual religious event.

One aged informant summarized family ritual activity in the following way.

> We get together for weddings and burials, but today everyone works and it keeps us from getting together more. But our family is very united. For one thing we telephone a lot. My problem is that I have to go places by car now due to my health, so if it isn't easy for me to get a ride, I stay home. In general, for weddings, brothers and sisters attend, even if it is a distance. And for burials more than weddings. Burials are sad acts, but they bring solidarity to the family. Everyone suffers together.

Her emphasis on burials is different from the figures presented in Table XIII. This difference probably is caused by the difference in age between the informant (in her seventies) and the questionnaire respondents (in their teens). Aged people know more people who are dying and attend more funerals than young people.

Support Payments, Gifts and Inheritances

The kin networks are the sources for support payments and gifts in times of need. In addition, presents are also given on special occasions such as visits, Christmas, weddings and birthdays. Inheritances also are part of the system of prestations among kin.

Support payments. Support payments are made by grandchildren, parents and brothers when grandparents, children

and sisters have financial need due to old age, desquite, or abandonment, handicap and unemployment. The request for support is an invitation for family conferences and interferences in the life of the needy one.

Gifts. Substantial gifts of a house or apartment were often made by fathers and brothers to married, separated, or abandoned daughters and sisters in financial need. Occasional gifts of small value were more commonly made to grandchildren, nieces and nephews. The purpose of such gifts is to maintain bonds of reciprocity. One informant reported that she had been adopted as a "grandmother" by her grandnieces and nephews and had taken on the gift giving obligations of the role. "My sister died and left a number of children and grandchildren who have taken to calling me 'grandmother.' Now I'm making a crochet bedspread for one of my 'granddaughters' who will be married soon."

Inheritance. The Brazilian law benefits certain relatives when a person dies with or without a will. The legal heirs are the spouse and the descendants without limitation on the degree of kinship. The spouse receives half the goods and the descendants divide the other half. If there are no descendants, lineal ancestors will inherit, or without these, the spouse, followed by collaterals (brothers, sisters, and cousins). The State will only inherit when there are no relatives eligible.

A person may make a will but does not have much freedom to give away the property due to the provisions of the law.

The proportions due the spouse and the various relatives may not be changed and the will may not benefit scribes of the will, witnesses to the will, a concubine (if the testator is married) or the notary who records the will. The will has the power to distribute money between heirs of one class and may recognize illegitimate children. The spouse and children, therefore, have the irrevocable right to the property of a person by law, unless they have acted in an "undeserving" or "unworthy" fashion including offensive acts against the person or dignity of the deceased, attempts against the liberty of making out a will, murder or complicity in the murder of the deceased, accusing the deceased slanderously, acting criminally against the honor of the deceased, using fraud or violence to impede the deceased from freely dividing his or her goods or executing last acts which he or she desired (Civil Code, Article 1595). Parents who have been providing support payments for children sometimes take out life insurance in their behalf as a security for the continuity of the support provision. Much of the distribution of property is often done before death, so that wills or in testate inheritance laws do not come into effect.

Aid with Schooling

Two major types of aid for educational purposes occur in addition to the payment of tuition: giving of scholarships in schools owned by relatives and the provision of room and board for relatives from out of town who are attending school in the metropolis. One woman who ran a

private school said that she would let any relative or godchild who asked her attend her school for free.

Joint Economic Activities

Many family businesses were discovered during the course of the research in many different areas of economic activity: meat packing, lumber, construction, planning softwares, electrical appliances, grocery, mining and metallurgy, cloth and fabric, clothing manufacture, engineering consulting, and office supplies. Usually these businesses were associations of brothers, fathers and sons, and cousins. In retail businesses, women, especially wives and daughters, also contributed labor as sales persons and cashiers. The housing clusters described in Chapter IV are most commonly found among families which have a family business.

Visiting and Telephoning

Visiting and telephoning are probably the most pervasive kind of contact among family members, especially among women. Visiting takes place during daily contacts for other purposes, such as giving rides. Relatives who live in different neighborhoods use the weekends for regular visits. One informant reported that her sister and daughters came to visit her at least once per weekend, usually on Saturday, but sometimes twice, both Saturday and Sunday. When a family member is hospitalized, it is common for many members of the family to visit the patient. One man described how he, his mother and his wife's parents stayed in the hospital while his wife was in labor. After

the birth, he said all of their brothers and sisters came to visit and to bring presents for the baby. Telephoning is a very common way that members of kin networks keep in daily contact with relatives and news of the family especially when there is a major crisis or illness. Sometimes a regular stop is made on the way home from work to visit with kin. One woman said that her husband goes to her aunt and uncle's house frequently after work, and they always have a cafezinho (demitasse) for him. The idea that women are supposed to stay at home all day is becoming less common and many women boasted of being allowed to converse with whom they pleased whenever they pleased and to make visits when they wished.

Crisis Aid

Unlike some other types of aid and contact, crisis aid is a term which describes the process of mobilization of a whole group of kin over a long period of time rather than just the single request of a particular favor or service. Crises are situations where at least one member of the family is in danger of some grave change in her or his condition, including death, shame, prison and/or poverty. Marital breakdown, under certain conditions is a crisis of this type, especially where the husband is behaving in a bizarre or scandalous manner and at the same time as the wife and children are not being supported or are being abused. Illness or accidents which affect the ability of a household to be self-supporting where the skills of several family

members must be called upon or where the ill or injured person is visiting relatives create crises.

Out of wedlock pregnancies raise many questions which create a family crisis. Some of these questions include whether the pregnant girl should get married, have an abortion, or have the baby out of wedlock. Also, the question of the payment of the hospital expense in the case of abortion or birth is discussed. The males in the family must be reasoned with, and acceptance requires a period of adjustment. The pregnant girl must stay somewhere during gestation if the family decides it is best for her to give birth. Then the question of child care arises.

Other situations creating complex crises arise from legal problems such as bad debts or embezzlement. Deaths which are associated with conflict over inheritance and control over minor children create family crises. In order to see the complex processes of mobilization of family aid in such crises, a case study of crisis aid is presented.

A young couple married and soon had a number of financial difficulties including contracting too many debts. As a result, both sets of parents had to intervene to pay off and refinance the debts. This situation was very humiliating for the husband. He decided to take his wife and children to another state where he would be far from the influence of his father and his father-in-law who had bailed him out. So they moved to Porto Alegre in southern Brazil, where the man through the contacts of his father, got a job in a bank.

Several years later the woman began to write her parents and complain that her husband was concealing his earnings from her, and that she didn't even know what he did at the bank. One day, she frantically telephoned her parents and said not to send any more letters via the bank pouch system. The next day she called to say her husband was wanted by the police because he and his boss had been accused by the bank of mismanagement of funds and of decisions which were damaging to the bank. Two days leter her father flew to Porto Alegre to consult with a lawyer and advise his daughter. Within a week, all of her brothers, their spouses, aunts and uncles were informed of the situation. The father advised her to come home with her three children immediately. A younger son (brother of the woman) who, along with his wife, lived with the parents was told by the other brothers that due to the crisis he would have to contribute to the parents' household expenses, which he had not done in the two years he had lived there. The parents considered closing their home in Belo Horizonte and going to Porto Alegre to live with their daughter, but they decided not to do it. By phone, her parents advised her constantly about her daily activities, for example to sell one car, to transfer the title of another to a trusted friend.

After three weeks of clamor, more information was supplied about the reasons for the arrest warrant. An officer from the quartermasters of the army had given the man a bad check which bounced. When he confronted the

officer with the check the officer said, "Give me the check and I'll get another." So the banker (the woman's husband) surrendered the check. The officer disappeared with the check.

Meanwhile, the family in Belo Horizonte discussed the options of the woman and their obligation to her. In a phone call not long after, she told her family that she had just discovered that he had not made payments on their mortgage as she had been led to believe. Her two older brothers decided to go to Porto Alegre with their mother, to leave their mother there, and to see the situation for themselves, since they were being called upon to contribute to their sister's support. After a month went by, the man's brother and his wife and the husband of one of his sisters visited the woman's brother to find out what was happening. They were told that the brother and the father were getting in touch with all of their contacts: lawyers, prosecutors and a comandante, to facilitate the issuance of a writ of habeas corpus and to take a special interest in the case. The husband left Porto Alegre and went to Brasilia to stay with his brother-in-law's sister to hide out until the habeas corpus was issued.

The woman's father made out a budget for her and sold the car which had been given her in payment by one of her husband's debtors. The relatives arranged shifts of two weeks to travel to Porto Alegre to stay with the woman and her children and to keep her on the budget. The first shift

was taken by her father and mother, the second by her husband's sister and husband, and the third by her brother and his wife.

After two months the habeas corpus had not been issued, so the influence of the family network was again activated. Eleven weeks after the first phone call, the habeas corpus came out. The husband's flight to Brazilia meant that he avoided interrogation and possible detention for all that time. After the writ was issued he returned to Porto Alegre to surrender to the court, after which he was allowed to sell his property and move back to Minas Gerais at the insistence of both families. The man's father arranged a job for him near where the family lived.

In this case, clear examples of kin network meetings, communications and various types of aid are illustrated as part of an adaptive response to the sudden unemployment of a network member and the vulnerability of his wife and children as well as the slow workings of the system of criminal justice. With the permission of the court, the man was allowed, on probation, to leave its jurisdiction under the condition that he be near his parents' home. As can be seen from this example of a crisis aid situation, the workings of kinship networks in urban settings are, indeed, complex.

Collateral Intermarriage

As mentioned previously, being lineally related to a person by affinity, blood or adoption is an absolute

impediment to marriage, but collateral relatives except for brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are not prohibited as marriage partners by Brazilian law. Cousin marriage has been fairly common in Brazil according to demographers Salzano and Freire-Maia (1967). Informants reported a sharp decline in cousin marriage since the Second World War, a time parallel to the mushrooming of Belo Horizonte's metropolitan growth. This is supported by Salzano and Freire-Maia's findings (1970:84). One informant, whose family had migrated to the city in the late thirties, attributed the decline to the widening circle of non-family contacts in the urban setting.

> None of my parents grandchildren married relatives. My three sisters who married relatives did so in the 1920's. My other sister, my brother and myself who married after that all married estranhos.* In a way I'm closer to the generation of the grandchildren than I am to my sisters. Those sisters who married relatives got acquainted with their husbands-to-be in family circles. There was no means of getting contact with non-family in that era other than in family events.

However, attitudes which favor cousin marriage are still quite strong, even among the young people surveyed by questionnaire. When asked whether cousin marriage was acceptable in the community in which they lived, 76.3% of respondents answered "yes" while 23.7% answered "no." On the other hand, when asked if cousin marriage was common in the community, 30% responded that it was while 70% responded that it was not. When asked whether they

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*extranho - stranger, foreigner. In this case, non-relative.

knew of any marriage between cousins in their own families, 49.6% responded that they did and 50.4% responded that they did not. A very similar split in percentage was obtained in response to the question of whether cousin marriage was thought to be dangerous; 48.7% thought that it was dangerous while 51.3% felt it was not. In response to the question, would you marry a cousin if you were in love, 51.7% responded "yes," 12.3% responded "no" and 36% were undecided. The attitudes and behavior reported uphold the notion that cousin marriage is widely accepted in Brazil, while it is becoming increasingly less common. Only a small minority were strongly opposed to their own marriage with cousins on the grounds of genetic loading of the population.

Intrafamily marriage is becoming less common, although the practice of sisters from one family marrying brothers of another family is still found. These types of marriages reinforce the bonds of solidarity among family members. Spouse selection is being less influenced by familial pressure and increasingly influenced by notions of "romantic love," and these changes cannot be attributed to the isolation of the conjugal family as Parsons suggested, since, as demonstrated here, such isolation is not really found within Brazilian middle class parentelas (1943:30-31).

Extending Network Ties

Middle class urban kinship networks are not self-contained systems. As demonstrated above in the case study of crisis aid it is often necessary for kinship network members to go outside the kinship system to obtain necessary aid for a family member. One of the mechanisms for reinforcing such extensions is the creation of fictive kin relationships. The merging of close friends into kin-like relationships is taught by parents when a child is learning to identify different roles and behavior patterns. At many parties I observed parents instructing their toddlers "Give titia (aunty) a kiss" when referring to a close friend. Children are thus taught to refer to adult peers of parents as aunts and uncles.

Compadria

The ritual ties of co-parenthood (compadria) are sometimes used to bring outsiders of equal socio-economic status into the family but more usually to reinforce existing kin ties. Compadria designates a set of relationships created between individuals primarily through the Catholic rituals of baptism, confirmation and marriage. Mintz and Wolf's classic analysis of this phenomenon identifies the three individuals or groups of individuals involved in the ritual: the initiate, the parents of the initiate, and the ceremonial sponsor or sponsors of the initiate (1950:341). They also identify a "clear patterning" of choice of godparents in modern Latin American communities where compadres

are selected either from within one's kinship group, from outside one's kinship group, or by using one couple for all one's children (1950:355). Usually godparents will be selected from lineal kin who are also banned as marriage partners by civil law, parents, grandparents, parents-in-law, sibling and sibling spouses, as well as aunts and uncles. Cousins are rarely selected as godparents perhaps reflecting the fact that they are potential marriage partners.

Mintz and Wolf argue that compadria, when used within the confines of a single class, is a response to the view of the members of that class concerning the limits on socio-cultural and economic mobility "available to an individual in a given situation" (1950:358). The existence of strong patterns of intra-familial godparent selection among the group studied, therefore, indicates a desire to maintain high stability and low mobility within the stratification system found in urban Brazil. All extensions of the kin networks via compadria are created by bringing persons of equal status into the network. Members of the middle class sometimes serve as godparents for servants or employees, but these relationships do not really bring the member of the other class into the kinship network, although it does create ties of rights and obligations between the initiate, his or her parents and the sponsor.

The questionnaire data show that 45.1% of the respondents had already served as godparents (during their teen years). In questioning whether their godchild was a

relative, 30.8% of the total sample responded "yes" or 67% of those who serve as godparents. In asking whether their own baptismal godparents were relatives, 72.5% responded yes, while only 48.7% of the respondents said that their baptismal godparents were relatives. In other words, the study showed that the horizontal selection of godparents from within the kinship group was the typical practice among respondents to the questionnaires and other informants.

Non-Kinship Extensions

Brazilian middle class urban families do have co-resident servants whose roles, duties and functions are discussed above in Chapter IV. The relationship of these persons with the household members is becoming increasingly one of the impersonal employer-employee type. The practice of taking in foster children known as filhos de criação from the rural lower classes has really not been maintained in the city, since servants can be hired for wages with less of the patron-client obligations of quasi-parenting associated with rearing, educating and marrying off filhos de criação.

Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the nature, size, meetings and communication of kinship networks among the middle class of Belo Horizonte. The means of establishing ties and tracing ancestry are described. The conditions in Brazilian society which lead to the need for mutual aid from kinspeople are discussed along with the types of aid and contact among kin. Ways of intensifying kin ties and

establishing ties with non-kin are discussed. These descriptions show that within the urban setting, kin network relationships are complex, intense and continual for members of the middle class in contrast with Firth's recent findings in London (1969). However, this study does support his finding that "extra-familial kin" relatives have importance in modern industrialized urban societies, although these Brazilian findings tend to emphasize the importance of basic economic cooperation rather than cooperation only for "petty services" as the glue which hold kin networks together and give them adaptive resiliance.

CHAPTER VI

LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF KINSHIP RELATIONS

After briefly reviewing the literature on the relationship between kinship terminology and behavior, the importance of naming patterns for the establishment of corporate kin groups, and the significance of second person pronoun usage, this chapter describes the Brazilian kinship nomenclature found among the networks under study, contrasting terms of reference and terms of address. Other linguistic features of kinship relations discussed in the present chapter include naming patterns, covering both first name and surname selection and the differential use of formal and informal second person pronouns. One of the striking characteristics of anthropological studies of kinship has been the great body of literature concerned with the terms various societies have used for addressing and referring to kin, both affinal and consanguineal. Anthropologists have frequently found that there seems to be a correlation between systems of kinship terminology and social organization (Morgan 1871, among others). Kroeber, however, viewed kin terms as linguistic phenomena and cautioned against making inferences from terminological systems about the nature of the social organization of the society possessing them. He pointed out that different systems use different principles of kinship terminological organization, or use

the same principles, but in different intensities. This variation he asserted did not always correlate with differences in social organization (1909). Lowie felt that kin terms do reflect social identity for certain purposes, but he strongly stated that there was no direct relationship of cause and effect between social practices and kinship nomenclature (1948).

Radcliffe-Brown felt that kin terms were important indices of the distribution of Ego's rights and duties, and delineated a number of principles expressed in kinship terminologies which reflect that distribution: (1) the principle of the unity of the sibling group; (2) the principles of sex differences in siblings; (3) the principle of birth order; (4) the principle of differentiation between full and half siblings; (5) the principle of the ranking of wives; (6) the principle of distinguishing between generations; (7) the principle of supra-and subordinations; and many others (1950:23-31). In essence, Radcliffe-Brown's position was that kinship terminology was of great importance in the study of kinship systems since it can in most cases be shown to be functional in a synchronic analysis of a society's social structure. He explained that the use of an equal kinship term should be construed to imply an equality of status-position vis-a-vis Ego, not a literal identity.

Murdock also held the position that kinship terminologies were indicators of social organizational variables

such as descent and residence rules. He hypothesized that change in residence pattern ultimately would influence kinship terminology (1949:180).

In recent years, linguists and anthropologists have returned to the fundamental technique demonstrated in Kroeber's isolation of the features inherent in relationship terms (1909:77-84). These scholars have developed a methodology of abstracting components which make distinctive semantic differences in terms, calling this methodology "componential analysis." Essentially, componential analysis is a method for describing the subject matter of a language and is not restricted to kinship analysis. This method aims at constructing models of the manner in which certain bodies of cultural content are coherently organized. Thus, componential analysis is at the same time a semantic and a cultural description.

Ward Goodenough was the first to use this technique on ethnographic data (1951), although the concept of abstracting distinctive features of cultural behavior also had been anticipated by Lévi-Strauss in his discussion of the elementary structures of kinship (1969). Goodenough suggested some methods aimed at lending precision to the elicitation of all folk taxonomies, including kinship terminologies (1956).

In summary, the aim of componential analysis is to reduce extensional definitions of terms, that is, the list of the universe of referents, to an intensional or a categorical definition. For instance, an extensional definition

of "uncle" in English includes the following universe: mother's brother, father's brother, mother's half-brother father's half-brother, mother's sister's husband, father's sister's husband, mother's half-sister's husband, father's half-sister's husband. The intensional or componentially analyzed definition of "uncle" is as follows: (1) male; (2) two degrees of geneological distance from ego; (3) non-lineal; (4) member of a senior generation; (5) not connected by a marital tie in other than the senior generation of relationship.

The method of componential analysis helps to abstract differences between similar kinship terminologies. The analysis is used by anthropologists in conjunction with the analysis of the kinship and social systems in general. This methodology is not the only way by which to study kinship systems, but it does offer a clarification of semantic differences among kin terminology systems.

To summarize this review of studies which treat the value of the study of kinship nomenclature, it is clear that the study of kinship including the analysis of terminology and the usage of terminology can show interesting differences or close correlations between ideal and actual behavior patterns. It is also clear that it is necessary to see kinship terminology as a part of the social system and not some isolated feature of linguistic abstraction. Linguistic anthropologists have shown kinship terms and behavioral categories are often excellent maps of human behavior

patterns. They have also found kin terms to be a guide to societal grouping via the delineation and abstraction of the system of cognition and world view expressed in kin terms.

Naming patterns have been much less studied than kin terminologies. However, Radcliffe-Brown's discussion of the sources of lineage identity indicates that names often are a marked way of identifying kin group membership as well as distinctive personal identity and sometimes other information (1950:14). The use of multiple names often reflects, according to Radcliffe-Brown, the multiple kinship roles played by an individual (1950:58). The use of multiple names in the class studied supports this view and evidence of this finding is discussed in greter detail below.

The use of second person pronouns also has implications for the study of role differences, as pointed out in Brown and Gilman's semantic study, "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity," where the English, French, German, Italian and Spanish second person pronoun use is discussed and compared. The authors report a decline in expressive shifts between intimate and formal forms of "you" and explain that the phenomenon is a result of the "will to extend the solidarity ethic to everyone" (1960:276). Sometimes, such shifts are consciously advocated by groups possessing egalitarian ideologies, as in the Quakers' historic advocacy of the use of the archaic familiar "thee-thou" forms in English as a

statement of politico-religious sentiments. The implications of differential second person pronoun usage within kinship groups are discussed below with reference to Brazilian middle class kinship.

Kinship Nomenclature

In Brazilian Portuguese, a number of distinctive features are used by speakers to distinguish among various kinship terms. The major features are generational distinction, lineality vs. collaterality, sex of referent, consanguinity vs. affinity, distinction between full and half siblings. Schneider's description of the distinction between essentially legal relationships and natural relationships as covarying to make important distinctions in kin terms for American English (1968) also hold true for Brazilian Portuguese kinship terminology. As a result, this study will treat natural (consanguineous) relationships separately from purely legal (affinal) ones. Another important characteristic of kin term usage in Brazilian Portuguese is the practice of not always using Ego as the referent point for kin term use. In fact, it is not uncommon for informants to refer to their mother as "the partner of my father," their parent-in-law as "the parents of my wife/husband," their cousin as "the daughter of my aunt." Customarily, the possessive "my" is replaced by the definite article "the." This form of reference is most frequently used for describing affinal relations, but is also sometimes used for consanguines as shown in two of

these examples. The avoidance of Ego as reference point indicates how strong Alters are in determining kin relationships for Ego. This phenomenon will be discussed further below with respect to affinal reference terms.

Consanguineous Kinship: Reference

Table XIV displays consanguineous kin terms differentiated by collateral degree and generation. Female terms are listed below male terms. This table illustrates the strong lineality of the system by the great elaboration of seven generations of lineal distinction in reference terminology for consanguineous kin. This system of using "degrees" to refer to cousins can be hypothetically used for any number of collateral or generational steps, but is, in practice, never used for more than four "degrees" and is rarely used at all except in conversations about kinship relationships. Each generational and collateral degree is counted as one from Ego's primo-irmão. Therefore, Ego's parents primo irmão is to Ego a primo em segundo grau, but is also sometimes called a tio.

As a quick glance at the basic term shows, with two exceptions, women are excluded from the basic kin terminology. This becomes even more severe when the terms for "parents" "children" and "siblings" are shown to be "pais," (literally "fathers"), "filhos," ("sons") and "irmãos" ("brothers"). The reason for the special term for daughter-in-law, nora, may be that affines are not assimilated to equal status with consanguineal kin, unless the child and his spouse are

being referred to at once, when the term "filhos" may be used. Thus, it seems that the continual references in community studies and in kinship studies on Brazil to the subordinate status of women and their lack of socially honorable identity when deprived of a male referent is somewhat reinforced by the analysis of the kinship terminology.

Table XIV indicates "D" for all relationship positions which are referred to descriptively. For example, in the second ascending generation with one degree of collateral distance, a relative would be referred to as "the brother of my grandmother." However, anyone in the second or third degree of collateral distance would be considered a classifacatory cousin, and the reference term primo or prima would be used.

Consanguineous Kinship: Address

Table XV shows the common ways the consanguineous kin from Table XIV are addressed, using the same display format. The address terminology is simpler than the reference, dropping all collateral terms except tio and tia and all lineal terms except pai, mãe, avo and vovo. The principle of the superordination and subordination of generations is clearly marked. Aunts and uncles are usually addressed as Tio Carlos" or sometimes only "Tio."

Questionnaire data show that address of aunts and uncles by the kin term plus the first name is very widespread. The use of first names, nicknames or kin terms

TABLE XIV

Consanguineous Kinship Terms of Reference

Generation Removed from Ego	Collateral Distance 0	1	2	3
+3	bisavo bisava	U	U	U
+2	avo avo	D	primo prima	U
+1	pai	tio	primo em segundo grau (tio) prima em segundo grau (tia)	primo prima
0	EGO	irmão	primo-irmão (em primeiro grau)	primo em terceiro grau
		irmã	prima-irmã (em primeiro grau)	prima em terceiro grau
-1	filho filha	sobrinho sobrinha	sobrinho sobrinha/D	U
-2	neto neta	D	D	U
-3	bisneto bisneta	D	D	U

D - indicates reference by description of relationship
U - unknown in group studied

TABLE XV

Consanguineous Kinship Terms of Address

Generation Removed from Ego	Collateral Distance			
	0	1	2	3
+3	avô, vovô	U	U	U
+2	avó, vovó	tio, tia, + F titio, titia + F	U	U
+1	pai, papai mãe, mamãe	tio, tia + F titio, titia + F	tio, tia + F titio, titia + F	U
0	EGO	F	F	F
-1	F	F	F	U
-2	F	F	F	U
-3	F	U	U	U

F - indicates first name or nickname

U - indicates unknown

alone was much less common (See Table XVI).

TABLE XVI

Address Terminology for Tio and Tia

	Count	Relative Frequency (%)
Tio and Tia plus first name	164	71.9
First name only	36	15.8
Other: nickname, tia or tio only	28	12.3
Totals	228	100.0

The use of the terms tio and tia to address cousins older than Ego supports Kottak's findings that the first cousins of one's parents are called tio and tia and reciprocally the children of first cousins are called sobrinho and sobrinha (1967).

Affinal Kinship: Reference

Table XVII shows the distinctive features of affinal kinship reference terms in Brazilian Portuguese. This table displays affinal kin terms by the distinctive features of generation, sex, lineality, collaterality, and the person who was party to the marriage which created the affinal tie. Assimilation of females to male status is common as in consanguineous terms. As mentioned above, there is a strong tendency to use a reference system which uses

TABLE XVII

Affinal Kinship Terms of Reference

Generation Removed from Ego	Sex	Ego's Spouse's Sibling lineal	Ego's Spouse's Sibling collateral	Ego's Sibling lineal	Ego's Sibling collateral	Ego's Child	Ego's Parent
+1	male	sogro/D	D	D	D	D	padrasto/D
	female	sogra/D	D	D	D	D	madrasta/D
0	male	marido	cunhado/D	co-cunhado/ D	cunhado/ D	co-cunhada/ D	D	meio-irmão/D
	female	esposa (mulher)	cunhada/D	co-cunhada/ D	cunhada/ D	co-cunhada/ D	D	meia-irmã/ D
-1	male	enteado	D	D	D	D	genro/ D	D
	female	enteada	D	D	D	D	nora/D	D

D - descriptive terms used referring to a person whose marriage creates the relationship

consanguineous terms and the terms for husband and wife as basic terms, deriving other affinal terms from these. For example, the terms cunhado and concunhado are frequently avoided in favor of descriptive terms such as marido de (first name) or marido de irmã dêle. When the terms are used, frequently a description is given anyway. For example, one informant told about a call from her husband's sister's husband's sister's husband (her sister-in-la 's brother-in-law) in the following way: "The concunhado of Betânia, Edison, called me yesterday. He is married to Sílvia, the sister of Paulo."

Another feature of affinal reference terminal is the lack of assimilation of spouse's status. Children of spouse's aiblings are referred to as spouse's relatives. For instance, in the following examples, Ego is never used as the reference point in the kin terminology for children of spouse's siblings. "I saw my cunhada, Maria Pinheiro, when I went up to her house to visit her because her blood pressure was up. I saw her two filhas [daughters] there--my husband's nieces (sobrinhas do meu marido)."

Affinal Kinship: Addresss

The same principle applies to affinal address terminology. Except in the case of step-parents who are assimilated to the status of parents, affinal relatives are not treated like the parallel consanguineous relatives. For example, parents-in-law are never addressed as "Mãe" or "Pai" (mother, father) or their diminuitives, as they sometimes

are in U.S. address terminology (see Table XVIII) but rather formally as "Dona Maria" or "o seu João."

The principle of superordination and subordination among the generations is demonstrated by affinal kinship terminology of address as well as consanguineous terms. Any affines in the first ascending generation as above are addressed more formally than those in Ego's generation or below. Surname address of spouse's parents is never used, but formality is maintained by the use of titles with first names as exemplified above. Among affines first names are used for generational equals and members of descending generations, as among consanguines.

The Functions of Reference and Address Terms

The patterns of nomenclature distinction and assimilation reflect the socio-economic structure of middle class culture in Belo Horizonte. Generation, sex, lineality and collaterality are all important in determining heirs for property according to the legal code, although women are given more autonomy in the Civil Code of 1965 than they were given previously. Lineal relatives more usually form business partnerships and common living arrangements than collaterals. The principles of superordination and subordination of generation reflect the politico-economic power of elders in Brazilian middle class society. The strong marking of lineality and the lack of assimilation of the spouse to the status of member in the other spouse's lineage, reflected in terminological usages shows the

TABLE XVIII

Affinal Kinship Terms of Address

Generation Removed from Ego	Sex	Ego lineal	Ego collateral	Ego's Spouse's Sibling	Ego's Sibling lineal	Ego's Sibling collateral	Ego's Child	Ego's Parent
+1	male	T + F						pai, papai
	female	T + F						mãe, mamãe
0	male	F	F	F	F	F		
	female	F	F	F	F	F		
-1	male	F		D			F	
	female	F					F	

T - Title, Dona o seu, military title, Doutor

F - first name or nickname

ongoing importance of natal kin group identity. The use of reference terms which use others as reference points in addition to Ego (i.e., my brother's daughter rather than my niece) reflects a lack of isolating individualism as a cultural value and a cognitive need to connect a number of individuals into the description of a relationship, since actual behavior associated with relationships usually integrates a number of relationships into a system as shown above in the discussion of crisis aid.

But kinship terminology is not the only linguistic feature of kinship relations which cast some light on the functions of middle class kinship networks in Belo Horizonte. The parallel functions of two other such features, naming and use of second person pronouns, will now be discussed.

Naming

The selection of names, both first names and surnames, also serves to reinforce group identity among the middle class kinship networks studied.

First names

The use of first names for reinforcing group identity is important when certain distinctive names are used repeatedly within the network. One informant told me that whenever he met with persons named Gabriel, Gabriella or Helena, he consulted with them at some length to discover if there was common parentage since these first names were very common in his family.

Another use for first names is for the purpose of

lineage segmentation. If a particular family, for example the Costa family, has an important ancestor, Francisco Costa, his desdendants might call themselves the Francisco Costa family and use the first and last name together as a surname to distinguish their segment from Costas who were only collateral kin.* The rationale for adding the first name may be "to honor" the important person. One woman I knew had "inherited" the first and last name of her paternal great-grandfather and, out of a desire to not slight the other side of the family, was given also the first and last name of her maternal grandfather. Thus, she had six names: her first name, her mother's father's first and last name, her father's grandfather's first and last name and her husband's father's surname.

Spellings of names are also symbolic of group identity. A law in the 1940's modernized Brazilian Portuguese orthography to eliminate foreign spellings and make writing more phonemic. Among the eliminated spellings were the "th" and the "ph" which were converted to "t" and "f". However, since names are inherited, very often the spelling becomes imbued with the values and traditions associated with the name. One man proudly told me that his name was "Theophilo" which was spelled "with a 'th' and 'ph' inherited from my paternal grandfather." Another man told me that he preferred to spell his name "Thomé" because it had been his father's name and he had inherited it from him.

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*This phenomenon was first reported by Wagley (1964).

Surnames

Brazilians have no standardized way of assigning surnames. The system is much more optive than the Spanish system which is precise about the order, number and rights to surname use. Legitimate and legitimated Brazilian children have the right to the paternal name since the Civil Code of 1965, but they are not bound to use it nor are they prohibited from using other surnames of their ancestors. Most informants agreed that they thought that people usually used their father's patronymic, but they all knew of cases which were exceptions.

On the questionnaire survey of high school students, a wide variety of practices were found in response to the question, "How do you sign your name on official documents?"* The responses are shown in Table XIX.

The fact that 90.5% of the respondents selected options 1, 3, and 4 which include the father's patronymic shows the importance of that type of surname use. Another conclusion to be drawn from these findings is that there is great optive variety open to parents in determining with which other line of their kinship to affiliate their children on birth certificates. In the creation of later documents, such as voter's certificates, identity cards and marriage certificates, individuals have some leeway to adopt other surnames which they have the right to use. Nationally known figures such as authors, television personalities,

*"Como voce assina seu nome em documentos oficiais?"

TABLE XIX

Surname Selection

		Count	Relative Frequency (%)
1.	Father's Patronymic Only	85	37.4
2.	Mother's Patronymic Only	5	2.2
3.	Mother's and Father's Patronymics	89	39.2
4.	Mother's Matronymic and Father's Patronymic	31	13.7
5.	Father's Matronymic Only	5	2.2
6.	Mother's Matronymic Only	3	1.3
7.	Father's Matronymic and Mother's Patronymic	6	2.6
8.	Other (Patronymic of Husband)	3	1.3
		227	100.0

painters and sports figures who often go by single names, first names or some other surname besides the father's patronymic, for reasons of aesthetics or convenience. However, these name usages are usually not made official but are, in essence, assumed names, which focus on the individual rather than the group identity.

Use of Second Person Pronoun

Brazilian Portuguese has, hypothetically, four forms of second person pronouns, tu, você, o senhor/a senhor, and vos. In Minas Gerais, the tu and vos forms are very rarely used in ordinary conversation, although from time to time, they will appear in romantic poetry or songs. Essentially, therefore, there are two forms of second person pronouns, você (pl. vocês) and o senhor/a senhora (pl. os senhores). The você form is used among equals and from persons of superior to those of inferior rank. The o senhor/a senhora form is used from inferior to superior ranks, often to indicate respect for age or position. It is also used reciprocally among people whose relationship is extremely formal. Traditionally in Minas Gerais, parents and other older relatives were said to be addressed by their children and younger relatives with the o senhor/a senhora form. In interviews and life histories, informants revealed that the use of the respectful, formal o senhor/a senhora is still common. For instance, one informant said of her mother's sister's husband, "I call him tio Gregório or o senhor when I am talking to him."

In order to see how common this practice was, a question on the use of second person pronouns was included in the questionnaire (see Table XX).*

Table XX

Pronoun Usage

Pronoun Used	Count	Relative Frequency (%)
Você	37	16.2
O senhor/a senhora	177	77.6
Tu	4	1.8
Você and o senhor/a senhora	10	4.4
	228	100.0

As is clearly evident, the vast majority use the formal pronouns for address of parents, reinforcing the attitudes about the superordination of the ascending generations, and reflecting the power and influence of parents over their children.

Conclusions

In summary, it is clear from this review of linguistic features of kinship relations that kinship terminology, naming and pronoun usage all reflect important features of the kinship system of the middle class in Belo Horizonte. The principles emphasized in this system are basic to the socio-economic arrangements of families in this class in Brazilian society and in the urban setting. Identification

*"Qual o tratamento que você da a seus pais?" A. Você B. o senhor/a senhora C. Tu D. Você e o senhor/a senhora.

with different lines within the family seems to be an important concern, not for traditional or sentimental reasons alone, but due to important economic mutual aid within the family given by kin group members. Obviously, kinship terminologies, naming practices, and pronoun usage do not determine kin links, but they do give their users and hearers of their users important informabion which lubricates the interactional processes of kinship networks.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding chapters have presented data and analysis on kinship patterns among the middle class of Belo Horizonte. These chapters explored the nature of individual identity formation, the statuses and roles of spouse, parent and child, the types of residential units in which members of the middle class of Belo Horizonte live, the nature and function of kinship networks and linguistic features of kinship relations. The purpose of looking at these aspects of the kinship system is to discover whether or not urbanization and industrialization have had the impact on kinship structures predicted by various social scientists, who felt that families would increasingly become smaller, two-generational and isolated from significant contacts with extended kin.

Chapter I discussed the importance of discovering the nature of the adaptation of kinship relations in the urban setting by studying familial networks in a large Brazilian city. This importance rests on the relative absence of studies of middle class kinship in urban Brazil. The network approach was shown to be superior for the purposes of this research to methodologies which use territorially defined units of study.

Chapter II described how Belo Horizonte, the site of

the study met the criteria for metropolitan complexity, secularity, industrial development and diversity of social strata necessary to be a proper testing of hypotheses concerning the impact of industrialization, modernization and urbanization on kinship relationships. It was shown that several methods were required for data collection on middle class urban kinship networks. These methods were genealogical elicitation, informal interviewing, participant observation, life history method, and formal questionnaire survey.

Chapter III showed that concept of the nuclear family is not adequate for an understanding of middle class kinship behavior in Belo Horizonte. Concepts of individual identity and kin group membership are entwined during the enculturation process. The nature of marriage and the nature of parent-child relationships and inter-sibling relationships are parts of a social system which promote strong parent-child ties well into adulthood. The bonds between parents and children and among siblings were enduring and significant relationships for most middle class residents of Belo Horizonte who were studied.

Chapter IV looked at the developmental cycle of domestic groups. This developmental cycle reflects a real pattern of extended kin coresidence despite ideal values in favor of neolocality. Household coresidence and clusters of households serve to facilitate the mutual aid functioning of extended kin groups. Such spatial arrangements and those of corporate descent groups showed significant

parallels in group function although not identity of structures and practices.

Chapter V described the nature and size of the kinship networks studied, the types of meetings and other communications among the members, as well as the process of affiliation. The findings presented showed that most people have a rather complex set of relationships with a group of kin larger than their household unit, usually made up of a three generational set of people, including parents, siblings, spouses, children and affines of these relatives. Less important services are performed by a larger set of kin, which has been defined as the parentela. The study found, however, that basic economic cooperation held both levels of the kin networks together.

Chapter VI reviewed three linguistic features of kinship relations: kinship terminology, naming practices and second person pronoun usage, as ways of observing the correspondence between them and the social organization described in preceding chapters. Kin terminology emphasized the segmentation of male and female identity, male dominance, generational superordination and subordination, lineality and colleterality, reflecting the importance of sex role differentiation, the dominance of the aged and the lineality of inheritance, "marriage succession" (the provision of property for married offspring) and other property arrangements. Naming patterns show the importance of names for the purposes of lineal identification and recognition of

members. Pronoun usage reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination of the generations.

In summary, the study found that urbanization did not create nuclear family households which were alienated from extended kin contacts. Furthermore, it did not find the increasing independence of youth and women to the extent predicted by Parsons (1943).

The notion that the nucleation of the household is a blessing of urban, industrial life is a questionable assumption. Frederick LePlay (1901) saw the nuclear family as the "unstable" type. His analysis of the source of such instability was basically economic, as shown in the following quotation. "The unstable family prevails now among the working populations who live under the factory system of the West. It is multiplying among the wealthy classes of France under a group of influences, the most important of which is forced division of inheritance" (Farber 1971:15). LePlay saw the growth of the "unstable" family as contributing to the growth of poverty. He felt that patriarchal or stem families were more beneficial to both the individuals involved and the state. Talcott Parsons, on the other hand, felt that the rise of the isolated conjugal family was beneficial to individuals because it allowed them to maximize their own individual self-interest and promoted the emancipation of women (1943, 1949).

This study found that kinship interactions among the middle class residents of urban Belo Horizonte are significant and frequent, and function to meet some of the basic

needs of the population. Although the kin groups are not traditionally defined corporate groups, as Parsons so aptly pointed out in his "Reply to His Critics" (1971), they are important "occasional" groups which are sufficiently flexible in membership and responsiveness to respond to the complex and changing needs of individual family members in urban settings. Although the formal, constituted legal power of the pater familias has been changed and the kinship group have become increasingly acephalous, they still demonstrate a unity based on mutual aid and need.

There are numerous indications in the data that kinship practices are becoming more flexible and less rigidly lineal due to the influence of the urban setting: pattern of surname selection, the ambilocality of newlywed couples who need housing, and the greater matrilateral knowledge described by some for maternal kin. The maintenance of kin ties of the intense, activated, or non-activated type means for the members of the networks studied the assurance of many potential sources of help.

Part of the reason for the great importance of kinship ties in Brazilian society today is the extreme inefficiency of its bureaucracies to function in rationally designed ways. The data show that bureaucratic organizations do work, but only for certain groups with "key contacts" within the administrative structure. Kinship provides these key contacts. Kinship networks, therefore, are very humane, mutual aid associations for their members. Within

the rigid class structure of Brazil, however, they tend to function as barriers to mobility for members of lower strata, since their access to such networks is sharply limited by intraclass endogamy. For example, Reeve has shown how intraclass endogamy and nepotism has worked to exclude blacks from access to white collar jobs in an industrial town in Minas Gerais (1973). Furthermore, it is extremely difficult to rationalize a system which uses the kinship principle for the provision of basic needs unless other socio-political structures offer supports for groups whose members are not powerfully or highly placed in the administrative and business worlds. In fact, even though capitalistic industrialization is taking place in most of the larger cities of Brazil, and certainly in Belo Horizonte, the result of this process on the middle classes, and probably the upper classes as well, is the entrenchment of kinship as a source for the maintenance of group power. The impact of urbanization and industrialization on families and kinship ties among the lower classes may well be in the direction of greater isolation due to the press for migration and the mobility demanded by the labor market.

Without the pressure of geographic mobility and migration, the middle class families of Belo Horizonte have changed to adapt to the urban setting. The residential units are smaller in size and in number of inhabitants. People rely on telephones and automobiles rather than common residence to pass information and aid through the

network. Families thrive on the heterogeneity of occupational selection of their members. If a family becomes too specialized, it can become isolated from the means of meeting its needs. Women become the possible sources of needed income and increasingly take on employment outside the home. The range of non-family contacts grows making intrafamily marriage less common.

This study, therefore, does not contend that urbanization and industrialization have no impact on middle class families of Belo Horizonte. On the contrary, it contends that the family and the kinship network are resiliant and flexible enough to respond to the demands of the urban environment and provide maximum conditions for members of this class. However, this maximization is not achieved without social costs, borne by other sectors of the society.

GLOSSARY OF PORTUGUESE WORDS AND PHRASES

afilhadc	godchild
ama	nursemaid
arrumadeira	housemaid, literally, arranger
avó	grandmother
avô	grandfather
babá	nursemaid
bairro	neighborhood
bisavó	great-grandmother
bisavô	great-grandfather
bisneta	great-granddaughter
bisneto	great-grandson
cafezinho	a small cup of coffee
compadre	co-parent (co-father); godparent (god-father) of my child; parent (father) of my godchild.
compadria	co-parenthood, bringing godparents, godchildren and parents into a system of relationship
concunhada	sibling's spouse's sister or spouse's sibling's wife
concunhado	sibling's spouse's brother or spouse's sibling's husband
colégio	secondary school parallel to U.S. high school
cunhada	spouse's sister or brother's wife
cunhado	spouse's brother or sister's husband
dar de cima	to chase, pursue
dar trabalho	to make work, to cause trouble or worry

dar um jeito	to pull strings, to make a deal, to work things out
desquitada	a woman who has been legally separated from her husband
desquitado	a man who has been legally separated from his wife
desquitados	people who have been legally separated from spouses
Dona	respectful title for married woman, used with first name
dona da casa	household manager, mistress of the house
Doutor	title indicating that the user is the holder of an academic degree
empadinhadas	turnovers filled with meat, cheese or seafood
enteada	stepdaughter
enteado	stepson
enxoval (enxovais,pl)	dowery, hope chest, trousseau
esposa	wife
estranho	stranger, foreigner, non-relative
família	family, kindred
a família traditional mineiro	the traditional family of Minas Gerais
favelados	people who live in squatter settlements
favelas	squatter settlements, suburban shanty towns
filhos de criação	foster children, literally, children by rearing
filha	daughter
filho	son
gavião	hawk, predatory male

genro	son-in-law
ginásio	secondary school parallel to U.S. junior high school or middle school
guaraná	soft drink, usually carbonated, made from a tropical root
herdeiro	heir (male)
interior	countryside, the area which is not the city or the capital
irmã	sister
irmão	brother
madrasta	stepmother
mãe	mother
mamãe	diminutive for mother
marido	husband
meia-irmã	half sister
meio-irmão	half brother
minina limpinha	clean little girl
mineiro	pertaining to the state of Minas Gerais, person from the state of Minas Gerais
mulher	woman, wife
mulher e filhos	wife and children
namoro	a steady relationship between a young man and woman which precedes engagement, literally, in love
namorada	girl friend
namorado	boy friend
neta	granddaughter
neto	grandson
nora	daughter-in-law

nós, lá em casa	we, there at home
padrasto	stepfather
padrinho	godparent, godfather
padrinhos do casamento civil	godparents of civil marriage
pai	father
pão de queijo	cheese puffs, literally, cheese bread
papai	diminutive for father
parente	consanguineous relative
parentela	kindred
pessoal em casa	the people at home
prima	female cousin
primo	male cousins
prima em segundo grau	a female cousin in the second degree
primo em segundo grau	male cousin in the second degree
prima em terceiro grau	female cousin in the third degree
primo em terceiro grau	male cousin in the third degree
prima-irmã	first cousin (female)
primo-irmão	first cousin (male)
sem recursos	without resources
sério	serios, mature
o senhor/a senhora	you (formal form)
o Seu	respectful title used with the first name of male
sobrinha	niece, a female child of first cousin
sobrinho	nephew, male child of first cousin

sogra	mother-in-law
sogro	father-in-law
tia	aunt
tio	uncle
titia	diminutive for aunt
titio	diminutive for uncle
tostão	a very small, obsolete coin
tu	you (intimate, poetic)
O Velho	The Old One
você	you (familiar, ordinary)
vós	archaic form of you
vovó	diminutive for grandmother
vovô	diminutive for grandfather

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Charlotte Ingrid Miller was born September 22, 1944 in Quito, Ecuador, the second of six children of Hazel Wakefield Hofrichter Miller and Eilif Verner Miller. During her childhood she lived in Ecuador, Ithaca, New York Mexico City, Mexico, Raleigh, North Carolina, and New Rochelle, New York where she graduated from New Rochelle High School in June, 1962. She attended and graduated from Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota, in June, 1966, with a major in history. After graduation and a summer in Montevideo, Uruguay, she attended graduate schools at Indiana University in Latin American Studies and New York University in Ibero-American Studies. During her studies at New York University, she was employed first by Springbok Editions, Inc. as assistant to the sales manager and later by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social Security Administration, as a claims authorizer. In September, 1969, she enrolled in the University of Florida. In May, 1972, she passed the qualifying examinations and was admitted to candidacy for the Ph.D. degree in anthropology. During a large part of her studies at the University of Florida, between June, 1970 and June, 1974 she was a Title VI Fellow under the National Defense Education Act for the study of Portuguese language and Latin American Area Studies. From June, 1972 to July, 1973, she undertook a field research study in anthropology in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Brazil.

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequte, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Charles Wagley

Charles W. Wagley, Chairman
Graduate Research Professor of
Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Maxine Margolis

Maxine Margolis
Associate Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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